



**Comparative Feminist Studies Series**



**Gender, Race,  
and Nationalism  
in Contemporary Black  
Politics**

**NIKOL G. ALEXANDER-FLOYD**



Gender, Race, and Nationalism in  
Contemporary Black Politics

COMPARATIVE FEMINIST STUDIES SERIES

*Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Series Editor*

PUBLISHED BY PALGRAVE MACMILLAN:

*Sexuality, Obscenity, Community:*

*Women, Muslims, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*

by Charu Gupta

*Twenty-First-Century Feminist Classrooms:*

*Pedagogies of Identity and Difference*

edited by Amie A. Macdonald and Susan Sánchez-Casal

*Reading across Borders:*

*Storytelling and Knowledges of Resistance*

by Shari Stone-Mediatore

*Made in India:*

*Decolonizations, Queer Sexualities, Trans/national Projects*

by Suparna Bhaskaran

*Dialogue and Difference:*

*Feminisms Challenge Globalization*

edited by Marguerite Waller and Sylvia Marcos

*Engendering Human Rights:*

*Cultural and Socio-Economic Realities in Africa*

edited by Obioma Nnaemeka and Joy Ezeilo

*Women's Same-Sex Experiences in a Globalizing Asia*

edited by Saskia E. Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya

*Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics*

by Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd

*Gender, Race, and  
Nationalism in Contemporary  
Black Politics*

*Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd*

palgrave  
macmillan



GENDER, RACE, AND NATIONALISM IN CONTEMPORARY BLACK POLITICS

Copyright © Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd, 2007.

Palgrave Macmillan gratefully acknowledges permission to reprint the following essays.

Portions of chapter 1 originally appeared as "Theorizing Race and Gender in Black Studies: Reflections on Recent Examinations of Black Political Leadership," *The International Journal of Africana Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 57–73. Reprinted with permission of *The International Journal of Africana Studies*.

Portions of the introduction and chapter 1 originally appeared as an article in an edited work. This article first appeared in *An Introduction to Interdisciplinary Studies* edited by Michael Herndon (90–110). Copyright © 2004 by Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co. Reprinted by permission of Kendall/Hunt Publishing.

An earlier version of chapter 2 originally appeared as "We Shall Have Our Manhood": *Black Macho*, Black Nationalism, and the Million Man March," *Meridians* 3, no. 2 (2003): 171–203. Reproduced with permission of Indiana University Press.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

First published in 2007 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN™

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 and  
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England RG21 6XS  
Companies and representatives throughout the world.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN-13: 978-1-4039-7966-7

ISBN-10: 1-4039-7966-9

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: August 2007

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

*I dedicate this book to my late husband,  
Gregory K. Floyd (1963–2003),  
and to my parents George and Theresa Alexander*

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Contents

<i>Series Editor's Foreword</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
Introduction	1
1. Toward a Black Feminist Frame of Reference: Gender, Nationalism, and the Ironies of Black Politics	17
2. "We Shall Have Our Manhood": <i>Black Macho</i> , the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, and the Million Man March	51
3. The Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm and George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Fatherhood Initiatives	75
4. "A Threat from Within": The Black Woman as Traitor in African American Thought and Politics	109
Conclusion "When and Where I Enter": Gender and Black Feminist Praxis in the Study and Interpretation of Black Politics	147
<i>Notes</i>	169
<i>Bibliography</i>	201
<i>Index</i>	223



*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Series Editor's Foreword*

Nikol Alexander-Floyd's *Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics* is a stellar example of a black feminist praxis that takes on some of the most urgent, provocative, and controversial questions facing progressive intellectuals in the United States today. It is located at the intersection of feminist political science, Black and ethnic studies, and cultural studies. As such this book carefully and insightfully engages some of the central interconnected issues in these areas, crafting an exciting and persuasive black feminist theoretical framework that addresses questions of gender, race, and nationalism in the contemporary U.S. racial landscape. At a time in the United States when the (endangered) life-trajectories of young Black men and questions of Black masculinity and manhood are prominently debated in media, public policy, and scholarship, this book makes a significant and insightful contribution to our understanding of U.S. racial and gender politics.

Over the past decades, feminists across the globe have been variously successful—however, we inherit a number of the challenges our mothers and grandmothers faced. But there are also new challenges to face as we attempt to make sense of a world indelibly marked by the failure of postcolonial capitalist and communist nation-states to provide for the social, economic, spiritual, and psychic needs of the majority of the world's population. In the year 2007, globalization has come to represent the interests of corporations and the free market rather than self-determination and freedom from political, cultural, and economic domination for all the world's peoples. The project of U.S. Empire building, alongside the dominance of corporate capitalism kills, disenfranchises, and impoverishes women everywhere. Militarization, environmental degradation, heterosexist State practices, religious fundamentalisms, and the exploitation of women's labor by capital all pose profound challenges for feminists at this time. Recovering and remembering insurgent histories has never been so important: at a time marked by social amnesia, global consumer culture, and the worldwide mobilization of fascist notions of "national security."

These are some of the challenges the CFS series addresses. Drawing on feminist thinking in a number of fields, the CFS series targets innovative, comparative feminist scholarship, pedagogical and curricular strategies, and community organizing and political education. It explores and engenders a radical, comparative feminist praxis that addresses some of the most urgent questions facing progressive critical thinkers and activists today. The series takes as its fundamental premise the need for feminist engagement with global as well as local ideological, historical, economic, and political processes, and the urgency of transnational dialogue in building an ethical culture capable of withstanding and transforming the commodified and exploitative practices of global culture and economics. Individual volumes in the CFS series provide systemic and challenging interventions into the (still) largely Euro-Western feminist studies knowledge base, while simultaneously highlighting the work that can and needs to be done to envision and enact cross-cultural, multiracial feminist solidarity.

*Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics* argues that the deeply gendered politics of Black nationalism, and its relation to the production of U.S. White nationalism remains largely unexplored. In this text, Alexander-Floyd demonstrates the absolute necessity of a Black feminist theoretical framework in understanding contemporary U.S. gender and race politics. Thus, she makes a case for understanding the profoundly negative impact of the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm (BCPP) as it has been mobilized in racist narratives of the United States, but also reproduced in Black nationalist politics as a way of analyzing the backlash against civil rights and Black power movements. Asking the question "what does the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm reveal about what Black and White nationalists have in common?" leads Alexander-Floyd to provide a sharp and convincing analysis of the masculinist assumptions and (hetero)sexist gender ideology that cements these nationalisms, thus defining and limiting the struggle for Black equality. If the project of nation-building is "co-extensive with the plight and political subjectivity of its men," then women are incorporated into nationalist narratives in consistent and systematic ways. Thus, without a feminist analysis that makes visible the deeply gendered narratives of both Black and White nationalisms, and its impact on a racist, masculinist U.S. state, it is impossible to theorize democratic, inclusive notions of community, freedom, and citizenship within African American contexts.

Analyzing the Million Man March, George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Fatherhood Initiatives, and the mobilization of the BCPP through

a number of interconnected narratives, this book makes a courageous stand for acknowledging the insights of Michele Wallace's ideas in *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, a book that was dismissed and vilified when it was first published decades ago. Showing how history has in fact confirmed Wallace's original insights while Black women, and Black feminists in particular have been cast as traitors in African American political thought, Alexander-Floyd provides a brilliant analysis of how race and gender must be understood in tandem if we are to realize the potential of the civil rights, Black power, and most anticolonial movements around the world.

This is an original, carefully argued, and persuasive book—one that takes on the underlying racist and masculinist agendas of the now-imperial U.S state, and sounds a warning to all progressive, antiracist movements that explicitly and implicitly reproduce regressive gender ideologies. A book that will be of interest to all progressive readers who care about life and politics in the United States at this time in history.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty  
Series Editor  
Ithaca, New York

*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Acknowledgments*

This book would not have been brought to fruition without the help of an array of people and institutions. There are undoubtedly some people that I will forget to mention, and I ask them in advance for their forgiveness—to count it to my head, and not my heart.

The seeds of this book grew out of my dissertation project, which benefited from the guidance and input of a number of people, but, of course, most especially my committee. My chair, Linda Zerilli, and other members, Susan Carroll, Leela Fernandes, and Judylyn Ryan, invested a great deal of energy in my graduate education, and have continued to provide career advice and feedback on my work. Their work serves as an inspiration to me, as these pages attest.

I have also been fortunate to have many professors throughout my academic life that have taken a personal interest in my career and development as a scholar. Rutgers gave me a great environment in which to study Women and Politics, Africana Studies, and Public Law as a political scientist. I benefited greatly from the generous and committed scholars who contributed to my graduate education. I would especially like to thank Drucilla Cornell, Cynthia Daniels, Kerry Haynie, Jane Junn, David Levering Lewis, Milton Heumann, Edward Ransamy, and Gayle Tate. Several professors at the University of Texas School of Law also provided a beneficial and nurturing environment for me. I would especially like to thank Zipporah Weismann whose courses in Gender and the Law and Law, Biography, and Feminism provided me an opportunity to continue to grapple with questions of gender and representations of Black women in welfare discourse. Southern University gave me a strong foundation educationally. Melanie Njeri Jackson and Jewel Prestage inspired me to seek the Ph.D., and I thank them for their encouragement over the years. I would also like to thank Yousef Danesh, William Johnson, Huey Perry, Alvin Thornton, and Beverly Wade for their teaching and/or advice.

I am also grateful for the many institutions and their resident administrators that have supported my work. The Ford Foundation provided a Pre-Doctoral Fellowship that not only gave me financial

support but also connected me to a group of exciting scholars across the country and provided mentoring as well. The University of Houston's African American Studies Program provided me a two-year post-doc as a Visiting Scholar, which enabled me to work on the manuscript as well as other projects. I am especially thankful for the support of Richard Blackett, Tracy Howard, Angela Phillips-Williams, Linda Reed, and Cheryl Thomas. I would like to thank Satya Mohanty and the other wonderful scholars I have been fortunate to become acquainted with through the Future of Minority Studies Research Project. They have provided a critical community of scholars that have provided mentoring, feedback, and camaraderie. The National Conference of Black Political Scientists, which I had the good fortune of attending beginning in my first year of college, has made an indelible imprint on my career. I am grateful for the scholars associated with this organization. Finally, I have also benefited from three supportive deans at Virginia Tech: Robert Bates, Lay Nam Chang, and Jerry Niles.

Several people provided me with an opportunity to present my work at their institutions, and the feedback that I received proved invaluable to refining the book. I would like to thank Frances Bartkowski, Bernard Scott Lucious, Jewel Prestage, Sanford Schram, Toure Reed, and Linda Zerilli for inviting me to present my work at their institutions, including Rutgers-Newark, Princeton University, Prairie View A&M College, Bryn Mawr, Illinois State University, and Northwestern University, respectively.

There are many colleagues and friends that have supported me throughout this process. Michele Tracy Berger, Elizabeth Fine, Bernice Hausman, Jane Junn, Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, Marian Mollin, Cora Presley, Adah Ward Randolph, Lewis Randolph, Noliwe Rooks, Gayle Tate, and Jerry Watts were among the many people who gave me helpful advice on book publishing. Karl Precoda's assessments of my work encouraged me to refine my analysis to consider the perspectives of various audiences for my book. Mary Hawkesworth and Sanford Schram gave me advice and encouragement about publishing and critical feedback on my book project when I most needed it. Gena Chandler, Pamela Cook, Evelyn Simien, and Barbara Ellen Smith offered me feedback on one or more of my chapters, either in conference paper or book manuscript form. Anna LoMascolo, Michelle Penn-Marshall, and Lynita Newswander were crack research assistants. Several student office assistants, research, and student interns also assisted me, including Shannon Bailey, Ashley Cavell, Kimberly Hylton, and Sabriya Jubilee. Melanie Brooks, Michelle Penn-Marshall,

and Lynita Newswander were especially helpful in assisting me with cite checking and other editorial tasks in the last stages of completing the book. K.C. Arceneaux provided critical editorial advice for the book, and a great “Dugas” joke I will use for many years.

I have always thought of my friends as the brothers and sisters I get to choose. James Andrus, Danese Banks, Laura Coe, Candace Hurst, Martha Swift Kelly, Jeffre Lowe, and Rore Middleton, are long-time friends whose support has been critical over the long season of bringing this book about. Likewise, Rose Harris, Julia Jordan-Zachery, Marcia LoBrano, Caryl McFarlane, Toure Reed, and Ingrid Reneau have all offered emotional support, advice, and good times; they have also graciously suffered through my talking about my book project, and have each, in their own way, practically assisted me in its completion. I would especially like to thank Marcia LoBrano who generously allowed me to draft her as my “coach” in the closing days of completing my manuscript. Our daily conversations about the progress of the book helped to sustain me. I had the pleasure of meeting Adolph Reed, Jr., the year before I entered graduate school, and he has offered me wonderful advice and support over the years. His work has been and continues to be an inspiration to me. I appreciate his friendship and his courage and honesty, which is consistently reflected in his work.

My Virginia Tech family members—Takiyah Nur Amin, Kay Atkinson, Bazette Cooper, April Few, Laura Gillman, Jamie and Nona Hegarty, Debbie Law, James and Linda Rice, Doris Shelor, Carol Sue Slusser, Lisa Tabor, Michael and Jean Herndon, Kevin Roberts, and Chishamiso Rowley—have also been critical to my success, and I thank each of them for their kindness, encouragement, intellectual engagement, and for giving me joyful distractions. I would like especially to thank Laura Gillman for reading and commenting on the entire book as part of our bimonthly writing group meetings. I look forward to the publication of her book project on women of color feminisms. My Houston family, especially Linda Fontenot, Celestine Hollan, Latonya Turner, Niece Williams, and Santa Young, provided a range of support in the completion of my book. Sabriya Jubilee and Natalie Parks are among my many students who have become my “adopted” children. Sabriya, especially, has supported me in more ways than I can name, and I could never thank her enough. Amanda Johnson, my editor, Emily Leithauser, Aashti Bhartia, Brigitte Shull, and the rest of the Palgrave team have been impeccably professional and a joy to work with. I am especially grateful to Chandra Mohanty. I have always admired her work, and am honored to have my book published in her series.



Finally, I would like to thank my immediate family. My sisters, brothers, nieces, and nephews have supported me emotionally, materially, and spiritually over these many long years; they include: Dena, Wilbur, Ashleigh, Ernest, and George Nabers; Kathy, Shaya, and Markeisha Holmes; Danny, Yvette, Danielle, and Kamryn Alexander; Connie and Timothy Garrett; Tamron Alexander; George, Angela, Marley, and Julian Alexander; Nedra Alexander; and April Alexander. I also thank my extended family members (too numerous to name), but especially my uncle, Johnny Alexander, my aunt, Elizabeth Alexander, my uncle and godfather, Donald Lee Alexander, who worked on developing cover art for the book, and my aunt, Helen Mouton, who passed away during the final phases of completing this book. My living grandparents, Peter Alexander, ninety-four, and Rogers Martin, eighty-nine, and my deceased grandmothers, Bernadette Jolivette Alexander and Gertrude Mouton Martin, have inspired me more than I can adequately express.

People are fortunate to have one good parent in life, and I have been blessed with two. George and Theresa Alexander are amazing people; they have been terrific parents for my seven siblings and me. Through their example and encouragement they have inspired me to do my best work, to hold to my convictions, and to exact from life all that it has to offer. My husband, Gregory Keith Floyd, passed away during the writing of this book. He was my very best friend and greatest supporter. His love—and his memory—continue to sustain me. The members of From the Heart Church and Main Street Baptist Church have been a continual source of support for me on so many levels. I have been awed and humbled by their love and care. Jacqueline T. Flowers, A. Timothy Hight, and David Ribbe were especially helpful in assisting me through my difficult period of grief, and I thank them for being there for me. Above all, I thank God for sustaining and strengthening me, particularly through this most trying season of my life.

## *List of Abbreviations*

AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
BCPP	Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm
CBC	Congressional Black Caucus
FBI	Faith-based Initiative
FI	Fatherhood Initiative
HHS	Health and Human Services
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NFI	National Fatherhood Initiative
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Introduction*

Whether through the Million Man March, various forms of rap music, or economic programs for self-empowerment, Black nationalism remains an important, thriving ideology within Black politics. Scholars in history, cultural studies, literature, and other fields have worked to understand and assess the appeal and influence of Black nationalism, both historically in terms of the Black Power movement, and in terms of its connection to contemporary politics.<sup>1</sup> In the field of political science, literature on Black politics traditionally tends to deal with nationalism within a limited frame: as the polar opposite of integrationism, the ideology considered to be the other main tendency within Black politics.<sup>2</sup> Most recently scholars in political science such as Robert Brown, Ronald Brown, Darren Davis, Michael Dawson, and Todd Shaw have worked to discern whether and to what extent there are various types or “dimensions” of Black nationalism.<sup>3</sup> Generally scholars have labored to delineate the defining characteristics of various nationalist traditions, but have neglected to include masculinist gender power—that is the exercise of influence and control by men to delineate institutional boundaries, establish patterns of leadership, and produce identity—as a key component.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, much of the recent scholarship on Black nationalisms, particularly related to the Black Power era, has been celebratory, excluding critical consideration of gender as it operates to produce identity, to ground ideology, or to inform leadership structures, goals, or dynamics. Indeed, this scholarship on Black nationalisms is marked by what Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. describes as a “nationalist historiography” of 1960s Black nationalism. He observes, “In these accounts, the ambiguity of the Black Power movement remains offstage while the melodramatic battle for black self-determination implicates itself in the story of our contemporary moment.”<sup>5</sup>

Of the works that are critical of Black nationalism and show the weddedness of Black nationalism to White mainstream politics, there is still a relative ambivalence about its relationship to gender politics. Tunde Adeleke, for instance, shows that although nineteenth-century Black nationalists opposed White supremacy, they nevertheless not only adopted civilizationist ideas, but also actively facilitated African colonization; he does not deal centrally with the gender politics of

nationalists from this era.<sup>6</sup> Also, though Dean Robinson provides an important and provocative examination of contemporary Black nationalism that shows the ways in which it has typically mirrored White American nationalism, including elements of its racial and gender ideology, he does not see gender as the central defining characteristic of Black nationalist politics.<sup>7</sup>

Whereas most scholars of nationalism have not seen gender as a central category of analysis, feminist scholars have insisted on the necessity of analyzing gender in nationalist politics and have examined the role of women and gender in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic nationalisms in various geographic, political, and historical contexts.<sup>8</sup> Critics of hegemonic nationalisms, such as Anthias, McClintock, and Yuval-Davis for instance, have argued that gender power is a central construct of most nationalisms and have demonstrated the typical ways in which women figure into nationalist politics (e.g., as signifiers of national difference and purveyors of culture).<sup>9</sup> Significantly, in a related vein, Black feminist critics of counter-hegemonic Black nationalisms have made similar analyses, pointing out Black nationalisms' weddedness to dominant gender ideologies, even as they attempt to challenge racial hierarchy and inequality. In her groundbreaking essay, "Africa on My Mind," for instance, E. Frances White discusses the middle-class politics of respectability that champions patriarchy as a solution for Black social ills, and discusses how gender norms are often the shared theoretical ground for opposing Black and White nationalist projects.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Patricia Hill Collins argues that we can see in much of contemporary Black nationalisms many of the traditional ways that women have been figured as symbolic representatives and biological and cultural reproducers of the nation.<sup>11</sup>

Importantly, however, these leading Black feminist scholars either do not see Black nationalism as wielding the power of the state, or only analyze its "state-like" cultural influence.<sup>12</sup> The relationship between Black nationalism's discursive power and the state, therefore, remains underexplored. We have yet to fully investigate how, through contributing to and affirming popular analytical frames or narratives, like those regarding Black cultural pathology, Black nationalist politics does indeed advance and impact the politics of the state. I define the state as consisting of governmental and nongovernmental entities that establish and maintain the nation-state, as well as hegemonic ideological narratives that produce a national subject and the boundaries of national community. These ideological narratives impact culture, political discourse, and policy. In chapter 3, I outline different approaches to defining the relationship between race, gender, and the state and

directly address how narratives about Black cultural pathology have impacted the state's development.

Each of these different streams of scholarly discourse tells its own story about the nature of Black nationalisms and their relationship to U.S. politics. In this book, I utilize narrative analysis to examine gender and nationalism in contemporary Black politics, and thereby fill in the gaps left within a trajectory of study that has been delineated by previous research on Black politics in general, and Black nationalisms in particular. I argue that since race *and* gender have always been critical to the production of White U.S. nationalism, to the extent that Black nationalisms have developed in dynamic interrelationship with White American nationalisms, they have necessarily traded on similarly gendered terrain. Analyses of contemporary Black politics, therefore, must account for the centrality of race and gender in Black nationalist politics. To be sure, analyzing the gender politics of contemporary Black nationalisms and their connection to White nationalisms renders a clearer picture of the complex dynamics at play and reveals the unfolding of this era to be a more sordid tale than is usually imagined.

I do not undertake an exhaustive examination of this subject. I focus on the dominant masculinist emphasis of contemporary Black politics that has developed over the past twenty-five years. This masculinist emphasis centers on ideological assumptions about wounded Black masculinity (alternatively described as the plight of the Black male/endangered Black male or the Black male crisis) and the breakdown of the Black family. As I argue more directly below, this popular set of assumptions about Black family breakdown and cultural deviance—what I refer to as the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm (or narrative) (BCPP)<sup>13</sup>—has had a devastating impact on Black communities, has served as the basis for White backlash to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the mid-twentieth century, and has been legitimized by various, competing constituencies, most notably that of nationalists. Because Black nationalism is the dominant ideology in contemporary Black politics<sup>14</sup> and the BCPP has gained ascendancy across the political spectrum, these dynamics should concern students of contemporary Black and U.S. politics in general, especially those in the broader feminist community.

For purposes of discussion, I describe the nationalism I identify here as Black cultural nationalism. Most observers delineate various forms of nationalism, including, but not limited to: cultural, economic, territorial, and revolutionary (or political). Cultural nationalism is generally understood as “the view that African Americans possess

a distinct aesthetic, sense of values, and communal ethos emerging from either, or both, their contemporary folkways and continental African heritage.”<sup>15</sup> Importantly, as Dean Robinson observes, however, most classificatory schemes are limited because they project a transhistorical character to Black nationalisms.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, as he observes, “categories like ‘religious’ and ‘cultural’ capture the emphasis of an individual or group only after we know something about the time in which they operated.”<sup>17</sup> In addition, recent historical scholarship has raised questions about the clear demarcation between cultural and political nationalisms. Scot Brown suggests, for instance, that contrary to accepted definitions or understandings of Maulana Karenga’s US as a culturally nationalist and thus nonpolitical organization, US was very much political in terms of its philosophy and practices.<sup>18</sup> I use the term cultural nationalism because most commentators would use this classification to describe the nationalism I discuss. I do so advisedly, however, seeking to understand its cultural and political dimensions as reflected in a discrete, historical period.

I do not attempt to provide an overarching theory of Black nationalisms. I do hope, however, to provide an in-depth examination of a major form of contemporary Black nationalism in terms of its racial, class, and gender politics. The BCPP, though affirmed and adopted by non-nationalists of various political and racial stripes, was promoted principally and most successfully by nationalists, and so I identify the BCPP most directly with this Black political ideology. The hegemony of the BCPP, however, points to a need to examine the boundaries we set on ideological classifications.<sup>19</sup> In what follows, I prepare a “clearing” for discussion,<sup>20</sup> by examining why a focus on Black cultural pathology is urgently necessary, and tracing my own intellectual journey and conceptual and methodological entry point into this subject.

Since much has already been written about the demonization of Black women on welfare or the focus on Black cultural pathology, it might be argued that a consideration of notions of Black cultural pathology and its attendant stereotypes is unnecessary, particularly in connection to nationalist politics; however, such a focus is necessary for at least two reasons. First, the legitimacy of the BCPP remains intact, regardless of the excellent work that has been done on the subject, and its influence continues to increasingly encroach on public life. It has affected, among other things, the changes in our family welfare system brought about by the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act,<sup>21</sup> which has significantly altered and curtailed federal welfare expenditures, leaving many more Americans in poverty. It has also led to the proposal of public policy on the family,

particularly in terms of the George W. Bush administration's Fatherhood Initiatives. These initiatives have proposed funding "for projects designed to promote marriage, promote successful parenting and the involvement of fathers in the lives of their children, and help fathers improve their economic status by providing job-related services to them."<sup>22</sup> The BCPP has shaped popular culture, especially in terms of films, such as *Boyz-N-the Hood*, *Menace II Society*, and, more recently, *Baby Boy* and *Hustle and Flow*, all of which focus on various aspects of Black male endangerment. The BCPP has also influenced popular music, particularly in Hip Hop, with its projection of ghetto life as authentic Black culture.<sup>23</sup>

The BCPP was the foundation of the historic 1995 Million Man March and the offshoot marches it spawned in subsequent years, and has precipitated the development of "manhood" initiatives via schools and mass church meetings. It has framed discussion of Black female-male relationships. It has also generated myopic definitions of racism and thwarted efforts to address systemic, institutionalized racism. It would be difficult to discuss, in fact, all of the ways in which this paradigm has impacted Black life, specifically, and American political discourse, more generally. Because it continues to hold sway and develop in political, social, and popular culture arenas and institutional living, scholarly analysis must keep pace by continuing to assess and respond to this paradigm and the groups that espouse it, and to what benefit. It is for this reason that I examine the BCPP in this work.

A second reason why a focus on Black cultural pathology is necessary is because its connection to Black and White American nationalisms remains underexplored and under-theorized. We have yet to adequately account for what the development of this paradigm suggests about how the libratory aspirations of Black nationalisms are compromised by adopting the gender politics of the dominant racist nationalisms to which they are opposed, the way hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses can be mutually reinforcing in terms of gender dynamics, and/or how White nationalisms shape U.S. political discourse in general and provide a backdrop for even non-nationalist Black constituencies. Indeed, it is difficult to understand the ubiquity of the BCPP without understanding its roots in nationalist politics.

Though my own intellectual journey in exploring these issues began with a concern for the repeated demonization of Black women on welfare and public discussion of the plight of the endangered Black male, I was unable to make sense of how competing constituencies could affirm and legitimize this shared emphasis in politics without an



interdisciplinary, feminist analysis of nationalism. As a young person coming of age during the Reagan administration, Reagan's hostility toward Black people and his vilification of not only "welfare queens," but especially young girls, provoked my interest because of the everyday effects this antagonism seemed to have on the Black youth in my social world. The stigmatization visited upon my peers who had children as single parents shaped their attitudes about sex, self-worth, and male and female responsibility. These young Black women were marked as irresponsible, sexually loose, and socially unproductive. Indeed, despite the efforts of young girls and their families to raise their children and to continue to strive to advance themselves through more schooling and/or working, having a child out of wedlock proved to be the proverbial scarlet letter, a sin rarely forgiven or forgotten. Also disturbing were the characterizations of Black family welfare recipients, particularly since they bore little resemblance to the Blacks I knew receiving assistance. Contrary to popular perceptions, the Blacks in my community, especially those of limited means, labored in the truest sense of the word, often doing backbreaking work with limited opportunities for advancement. I lacked the political vocabulary and knowledge as a young woman to make sense of my objections, but my ensuing education in political science and the law provided me a context in which to make sense of and interpret this developing set of contradictions.

The Million Man March, an event that for me signaled the triumph of the BCPP and its focus on the Black male, provided my initial basis for exploring the connections between mainstream nationalism and its gendered underpinnings. I had always recognized the eerie similarities between the public discourse on welfare and that same private conversation in Black communities. Indeed, although they framed the discussion differently than White conservatives, Black cultural nationalists such as Jawanza Kunjufu and Nathan and Julia Hare, as well as countless commentators and leaders, seemed to echo the same racist stereotypes about Blacks that many Whites did. Young Black men, along with Blacks generally, certainly are confronted with a number of challenges. The overwhelming public focus on young endangered men, however, reinforced the tendency to see Black families as the source of their own social and economic problems. And, always, in the recounting of the plight of endangered Black men stood the source of this difficult situation: the single Black female parent.

Given the conservative, patriarchal gender politics of the Nation of Islam, it is unsurprising that the organization would fashion an event focused on restoring Black manhood. The Nation of Islam, a group

started in the mid-1930s by W.D. Fard, emerged as a forceful Black nationalist organization in the 1960s because of the popularity of Malcolm X, its most noted spokesperson of that period. Although the organization experienced a lull after the death of Malcolm X and its “messenger” or leader, Elijah Muhammad, it experienced a resurgence in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and today stands as the dominant Black nationalist group in the United States. As Ernest Allen, Jr., relates, “Minor organizational discontinuities aside, the [Nation of Islam] NOI has proved to be the largest and longest-lived institutionalized nationalist movement among Blacks in the United States, far outstripping the widespread appeal and influence of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association, which flourished during World War I and the immediate postwar years.”<sup>24</sup>

Since its inception, the Nation of Islam has advocated a very conservative, gender politics, situating in its foundational master narratives an effort to reclaim the position of Black men as the Original Man, heads of the “lost-found” nation of Blacks in the United States.<sup>25</sup> The Original Man philosophy of the Nation of Islam suggests that Black men—who represent the Original Man—will triumph over White supremacy, resulting in the ascendancy of Black men to leadership.<sup>26</sup> Farrakhan, in keeping with the Original Man theme, invited Black men to prepare themselves spiritually to be equipped for a coming racial apocalypse.<sup>27</sup> As Irene Monroe explains, “On October 16, 1995 [the day of the Million Man March], Farrakhan summoned almost one million of his ‘lost-found’ African brothers for a ‘men only’ meeting to converge on the nation’s capital for a ‘Holy Day of Atonement, Reconciliation, and Responsibility.’”<sup>28</sup>

The Nation of Islam-led Million Man March, with its focus on restoring Black patriarchal masculinity, emanated from and further legitimized the BCPP that had been popularized in the preceding decades. Notably, the March enjoyed widespread agreement in terms of its message if not its messenger, Louis Farrakhan, particularly among White and Black political elites. I knew that this consensus was driven by the general acceptance of the BCPP undergirding the March, but sought to understand, on a deeper level, the relationship between Black nationalisms and the larger conservative movement. My consideration of nationalism enabled me to identify the politics of the Reagan administration to the present as a recent manifestation of U.S. nationalism. In this context, the question of how to explain this relationship translated into a question about the relationship between two ostensibly opposed nationalist politics: what does the BCPP reveal about what Black and White nationalists have in common?

This book takes up this pivotal question. More specifically, I ask: what heritage does Black nationalism acquire as a derivative discourse of Western nationalism?<sup>29</sup> What limits does nationalism's patriarchal gender politics—an inheritance from White supremacist culture—place on the libratory potential of antiracist politics? I argue that the BCPP embodies a gender ideology—a search for manhood, that is, a political quest to achieve Western norms of patriarchal male leadership and prerogative—that defines and limits the struggle for Black equality. I also contend that this paradigm serves as a metanarrative or supertext against which various symbols such as the Black Welfare Queen and the Endangered Black Male and corresponding frames emerge. To be sure, by utilizing an interdisciplinary Black feminist analysis to assess the BCPP's development and impact, we can gain valuable insights into Black politics in recent decades and the theoretical framework and concepts with which it continues to be defined.

Significantly, I was driven by the nature of my subject to reach beyond strict disciplinary boundaries in exploring the relationship between Black and White nationalisms, not only conceptually, but methodologically as well. The narrative basis of the BCPP's articulation compelled me to grapple with the role of metaphors and political stories in the production of political ideology and discourse. Early on, for instance, I was drawn to the Sapphirist mythology surrounding Black Welfare Queens, that is, the stereotypes about hypersexual, emasculating Black females on welfare who generated a debased culture in Black communities coupled with a barrage of taken for granted "facts" that established their moral debasement.<sup>30</sup> I was perplexed and intrigued by the way in which a constellation of notions was impervious, as are all mythologies, to statistical or argumentative refutation. Some well-known examples include: that Black women have more children to get more family welfare benefits, that Black family welfare recipients are freeloaders who eschew work, and that Black women get wealthy on the public dole.<sup>31</sup> Of interest as well was the redundancy of the terms, modes of argumentation, and stories used to justify attention to the Black Welfare Queen and the Endangered Black Male in the context of discussions of Black family breakdown.

My education in feminist theory as a political scientist and in the law further affirmed the importance of discursive practices in politics and equipped me to deconstruct and assess political narratives. Women's Studies, as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary enterprise, challenges the boundaries of disciplinary knowledge and the construction of knowledge itself. Feminists have actively challenged assumptions of objectivity and neutrality in research.<sup>32</sup> They have

joined other scholars across disciplines that have highlighted the inherent subjectivity of all knowledge production.<sup>33</sup> They have also emphasized the importance of social location in ethnography and other forms of research, exposing scholars' backgrounds and predispositions as part of the research enterprise and meditating on the politics of representation for research subjects.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, as Ramazanoglu and Holland relay, feminists have developed a practice of reflexivity that "covers varying attempts to unpack what knowledge is contingent upon, how the researcher is socially situated, and how the research agenda/process has been constituted."<sup>35</sup> Finally, many have advanced an interpretive project that focuses on discourse analysis. Most notably, feminist scholars, influenced by post-structuralist and postmodern theory, have worked to understand the significance of language and discourse to the production of gender in various contexts.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, my orientation to feminist theory and women and politics as a political scientist reflects this postpositivist turn in women's studies, as well as its indebtedness to cultural studies. Cultural studies proponents take culture seriously as a realm of power, and women's studies scholars operating in this vein have examined myriad ways that the boundaries of gender and culture are mutually constitutive.<sup>37</sup>

My legal education—particularly my study of critical legal studies, law and sociology, and critical race theory/feminism—also foregrounded the subjectivity of knowledge production and emphasized the role of narrative and rhetorical strategies in the context of political discourse. Legal scholars in a variety of camps have focused on the nature of the law as a discursive field of power, that is, they have examined the strategic power effects of legal modes of reasoning, justification, and intellectual presentation. Scholars, for instance, have unpacked the ways in which the Law and lawyering are represented as the penultimate of logic and objectivity, even as modes of legal reasoning and the substantive effects of cases affirm and enable social, economic, and political inequality.<sup>38</sup> In doing so, they have exposed the inherently ideological nature of the law and the narrative structure or presentation of legal decisions. The effort to focus on the creation of stories and autobiographical commentaries by scholars such as Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Patricia Williams, for instance, serves as a practical challenge to the notion that the law is inherently objective; such efforts also privilege other narrative styles as legitimate modes of legal reasoning and analysis.<sup>39</sup>

This book bears the imprint of the interdisciplinary investigation that has been necessitated by my subject matter and facilitated through my education. It centers on the examination of politics, including

political discourse and public policy, through a cultural studies perspective—one that focuses on storytelling or narrativity in the development and interpretation of politics. As I detail in chapter 1, I utilize narrative analysis, which entails examination of socially constructed discourses as they operate to construct identity, influence public policy and perception, and define and alter political goals.

By providing an interdisciplinary approach that integrates concepts and analyses from political science, women's studies, and other academic fields, my work builds on and extends scholarship on Black nationalism in political science and women's studies in unique and important ways. Scholars in a range of traditional disciplines have been searching for and advocating for cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches.<sup>40</sup> I argue that interdisciplinary perspectives within political science—even more than cross- or multidisciplinary approaches—have been critically important to the field of Black politics and are necessary to move it ahead. As Paula D. McClain and John A. Garcia have observed, "Political science as a discipline historically has not seriously concerned itself with the politics of America's various minority groups, particularly black and Latino politics."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, although the group of scholars engaged in the study of race has grown in recent years, this area of research remains very much at the margins of the field of political science, despite its centrality to so much of U.S. politics.

While temporally my own scholarly career fits within what McClain and Garcia identify as the fourth generation of Black politics research, "characterized by its diversity of scope and heterogeneity of approaches,"<sup>42</sup> my substantive entry point into and development within the subfield of Black politics lies most specifically with the Black Studies orientation to the field associated with Atlanta University. Following Black political scientist Mack H. Jones, scholars from this orientation and/or approach analyze U.S. racial politics in terms of group power dynamics, thus, rejecting the ethnic pluralism model of race relations; moreover, these scholars, like other scholars working within a Black Studies vein, center their work on Black life experiences and political aspirations.<sup>43</sup> Although the development of a "Black political science" has not fully been reached, this perspective constituted a significant intervention in the field.<sup>44</sup> This legacy within the field of Black politics typifies the generative analysis that is enabled by interdisciplinary approaches to political science. In a broad sense, much of the best work in the field of Black politics, then, has always been interdisciplinary.

My integration of women's studies approaches and use of narrative analysis, of course, is also representative of my effort to further

“expand disciplinary boundaries.”<sup>45</sup> In this way, I join an emerging group of scholars such as Michele Tracy Berger, Ange-Marie Hancock, Duchess Harris, Rose Harris, Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Julia Jordan-Zachery, Evelyn Simien, Wendy Smooth, and Tamelyn Tucker, among others, working to expand Black women’s and gender studies within the field of Black politics.<sup>46</sup> Our work builds on and extends foundational work on Black women in politics by Black female political scientists such as Jewell Prestage and Mae King and later scholars such as Cathy Cohen, Melanie Njeri Jackson, Joy James, Shelby Lewis, Gayle Tate, and Katherine Tate.<sup>47</sup> These first and second generations of scholars have documented the role that Black women have played in government and law, examined public opinion on the interaction of race and gender, advocated for sex equity in academe, and worked to establish women and gender in politics as a legitimate trajectory for Black politics research. They have paved the way for more recent scholars who are aggressively working to advance Black women’s studies in the discipline.

Importantly, since much of the work in political science is grounded in the positivist tradition with its weddedness to quantitative methodology, my work differs from that of those working in Black politics or Black women’s studies in political science by offering a postpositivist, post-empiricist approach. As political scientist Frank Fischer explains, epistemologically speaking post-empiricism transcends debates about objectivity and subjectivity, associated with positivism versus postpositivism, respectively, exposing the subjective nature of both social reality and all forms of knowledge production.<sup>48</sup> As Fischer further notes, “In the postempiricist view, there are many valid forms of explanation, empirical-scientific/causal analysis being only one of them.”<sup>49</sup> There is growing use and support of mixed methods, and even qualitative and (to a lesser extent) interpretive methodology within the discipline in general and the subfield of Black politics in particular.

My specific, post-empiricist focus on narrative analysis complements and extends existing work on gender and Black politics. First, it uses narrative analysis in its various dimensions as its central mode of engagement. Second, it explicitly fuses disciplinary insights surrounding frame production, in order to produce and facilitate interdisciplinary frame analysis on gender and Black politics. Finally, it addresses the production of masculinity and femininity regarding the family and Black political discourse, specifically in terms of the image of not only the Black Welfare Queen, but also of the Endangered Black Male.

Importantly, in using narrative analysis, I join scholars in communication studies, literary studies, sociology, public policy, and other

disciplines that take seriously the idea that “stories” are a central means of understanding and reading social and political phenomena.<sup>50</sup> As Sanford Schram and Philip Neisser explain, “‘Stories’ are discrete narratives focused on describing or explaining a particular phenomenon, such as apartheid or welfare dependency. Stories can be called ‘narrative practices’ or even ‘representational practices’ but so can other forms of textual representation including literary tropes, stereotypes, or even popular icons.”<sup>51</sup> They point out that, although diverse in their orientations to this approach, most narrative analysts seek to explain how various narrative practices work to establish the parameters for understanding social and political issues, as well as the identities with which we associate them.<sup>52</sup> In the main, as Dennis Mumby observes, “Narrative is examined not as a fixed and stable communication phenomenon but rather as part of the complex and shifting terrain of meaning that makes up the social [and political] world.”<sup>53</sup>

In interrogating dominant narratives in political discourse, narrative analysts not only explore how stories fix meaning and interpretation of the social and political world, but also explain how they mediate our experience of everyday life and deprioritize and discredit counter-narratives. Drawing on the work of Laclau and Mouffe, for instance, Mumby notes that narrative analysts often explore how narratives act as “‘nodal points’” that center analysis in particular ways, and obscure or discredit alternate interpretations or readings.<sup>54</sup> A dominant narrative, according to Mumby, “mutes the articulation of alternative world-views by groups at the margins of political power.”<sup>55</sup> Additionally, narrative analysts focus attention on how narrative practices mediate or produce reality. Mediated realities are shaped through narratives so that they are always perceived and experienced within the dictates of particular narrative practices.<sup>56</sup> We cannot understand “the underclass,” for instance, outside of the received wisdom about its origins and nature. The notion of the underclass is itself a narrative production, one that directs our understanding and experience of life in urban centers. As Schram and Neisser observe, because of the “already there-ness” of mediated realities, and because these narratives constitute our perception and experience of everyday life, they “are arguably ‘foundational,’ preexisting facts and living beyond them, often surviving empirical refutation, in not just popular culture but everything else including politics and public policy-making.”<sup>57</sup> In *Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics*, I examine the Black cultural pathology narrative and explore the extent to which it frames or mediates our understanding of Black politics, racism, and the Black family. I fuse narrative analysis, a cultural studies approach that has

been integrated across disciplines, to produce an interdisciplinary study of Black politics, one grounded in Black and women's studies approaches to political science.

Notably, in advancing a decidedly interdisciplinary approach I advocate a conceptual interdisciplinarity that privileges questions as the center of research and, hence, supports utilizing whatever disciplinary knowledge best clarifies one's research questions. As Lisa Lattuca observes, with conceptual interdisciplinarity, "[I]t is not the seamlessness of the answer, but the kind of question that is important. The question is central and disciplines are important insofar as they serve to answer the question. Typically the conceptual interdisciplinary question implies a critique of disciplinary knowledge and the answer extends that critique."<sup>58</sup> The first reason to commend this approach is that it enables an understanding of disciplines as fields of power that direct and influence the construction of knowledge in ways that are inherently political. As Rogers Smith points out, our work as political scientists necessarily serves individuals' concerns and objectives. He writes: "Scientific inquiry is something *people* choose to pursue. They do so for a variety of reasons, but all those reasons are forms of human interests" (emphasis in original).<sup>59</sup> (I would add that the way we approach "scientific inquiry" could also serve various "forms of human interest.")

Second, conceptual interdisciplinarity is more likely to develop lasting changes in our theorizing and research. One can borrow concepts or emphases from other disciplines, while leaving the central theories, constructs, and methodological conventions of one's own discipline in place, thus, replicating the limitations of existing theories and methods. At its best, however, interdisciplinary thinking can introduce theoretical and methodological insights that fundamentally question, redirect, and/or remake analytical assumptions and methodological conventions in a given field. Finally, conceptual interdisciplinarity allows us to foreground problems over methods in our research, allowing the intellectual terrain to be uncircumscribed by entrenched methodologies.<sup>60</sup>

Political science scholarship on Black nationalisms has much to gain from integrating women's studies analyses and a focus on narrativity, and it also has much to offer Black women's studies approaches to examining politics and ideology in general, and nationalisms in particular, specifically, an emphasis on power and the formal institutional corridors of its operation. Black feminists continue to succeed in elaborating the inner workings of nationalist organizations. They have, for instance, examined women's roles in organizing, as well as



the structure of leadership and gender roles.<sup>61</sup> In some cases, however, our understanding of gender has become divorced from a concept of power. There is certainly a continuing need to examine the configuration of gender roles and leadership approaches, in historical and contemporary contexts. We also need to know the stories, myths, and narratives that fuel our present interactions and perpetuate systemic marginalizations of women. This is the “why” of narrative analysis.

Our examinations of gender must also consistently work to elaborate what Black Caribbean, feminist political scientist Eudine Barriteau refers to as the “relations of power embedded in gender,”<sup>62</sup> so that we can understand how the gendered power dynamics within organizations and discourses are connected to mainstream political discourse and its practical consequences on public life and everyday living. Barriteau’s injunction for Caribbean feminists is relevant here: “[W]e need to probe deeper into examining the power relations surrounding the generation of knowledge about women and the asymmetrical practices of power that shape everyday life.”<sup>63</sup> Notably, whereas feminists focus on culture as a field of power and have examined the relationship between Black nationalisms and White nationalisms, we typically neglect the apparatus of the state. My work adds a different dimension to feminist analyses of Black nationalism by focusing on the role of gender and race in structuring political discourse vis-à-vis the BCPP.

In developing my argument, I focus on those elements that I deem to be foundational to the development of Black nationalism and the BCPP and that raise persistent issues in Black political discourse. I use the narrative analysis concept of framing throughout—highlighting a variety of different elements, including, for instance, frame alignment, frame shifting, trope, and rhetorical strategies—to explain the BCPP’s operation as a metanarrative.

This introduction outlines my particular entry point into my discussion of gender and Black nationalisms conceptually and methodologically and chapter 1 provides a sustained discussion of the general argument I advance and my use of narrative analysis. More specifically, taking a classic essay by political scientist Mack H. Jones as a point of departure, chapter 1 argues for—and offers—a Black feminist frame of reference for the study of Black politics. After indicating how I am using key terms and concepts, such as nationalism and community, within the study, I discuss the ironies of Black politics to which my book relates, explain the integrated analysis of race, gender, and class I advocate, specify points of emphasis in my use of narrative analysis, and detail how the frame of reference I adopt compares to

other recent work in political science and women's studies on Black and White nationalisms.

Chapter 2 examines the development of the BCPP and its connection to the historic Million Man March. I initiate this discussion by revisiting the publication of Michele Wallace's controversial *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, highlighting key insights from this earlier work as a means of understanding the development of the current focus on Black cultural pathology with its own version of Black macho politics. I argue that the BCPP is a metanarrative that gives rise to competing frames and images around Black Welfare Queens and Endangered Black Males.

In chapter 3, I demonstrate that contemporary Black nationalist ideology has in fact had a profound influence on the state apparatus. I outline some of the prominent readings of the state's racial dimensions, including those by noted Black feminists who discuss Black nationalisms' relationship to the state. I argue that the BCPP, particularly its emphasis on the "crisis of the Black male," has shaped contemporary public policy, most notably via President George W. Bush's Faith-based and Fatherhood Initiatives. I discuss how, as the BCPP has solidified and matured, it has supported shifting frames for public policy and political discourse.

In chapter 4, I argue that the trope or representation of the Black woman as traitor is a narrative frame that develops as a result of the BCPP's primacy on male leadership and its emphasis on Black men metonymically representing Black community. Where chapter 3 focuses on Black nationalism's influence on the state, chapter 4 exposes, among other things, the ways in which notions regarding Black men and women's relationship to the state operate in Black nationalism-inflected political discourse. In chapter 4, I crystallize our understanding of the "Black woman-as-traitor" representation, demonstrating its origins in and importance to Black nationalist ideology and politics.

In the tradition of critical race theory, the conclusion is partially autobiographical in nature and discusses the challenges, both political and personal, to producing Black feminist criticism. I examine some of my own experiences in developing and sharing my work, review the key insights relayed by the Black feminist frame of reference I utilize to examine nationalism in this book, and end by providing questions and issues for future research.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Chapter 1*

# *Toward a Black Feminist Frame of Reference: Gender, Nationalism, and the Ironies of Black Politics*

### **Introduction**

Black political scientist Willie Legette has observed, “ ‘The only thing that has not changed about black politics since the 1960s is how we think about it.’ ”<sup>1</sup> This prognosis is accurate along a number of dimensions, but is particularly critical in terms of gender, where most studies deal with “gender” and Black politics in a limited frame, focusing on how public opinion patterns differ among men and women.<sup>2</sup> This inattention to and limited focus on gender is emblematic of the state of gender analysis in the discipline as a whole. As Mary Hawkesworth has observed, political scientists have in the main failed to incorporate feminist insights into the theory and practice of political science.<sup>3</sup> This has restrained our ability to optimally assess political phenomena.

There is a pressing need, therefore, for political scientists as a whole and students of Black politics in particular to adopt frames of reference that can account for gender in U.S. politics. Reassessing our frames of reference is important because they provide the basis through which we observe and assess the political world. As Barker et al., explain:

A frame of reference is a set of general assumptions about the nature of the subject or experience being investigated, what concepts or categories of analysis are the most useful for understanding it, what level of analysis should be adopted, and what questions should be answered in order to develop the most useful understanding of that which is being investigated.<sup>4</sup>

A frame of reference serves as a lens, making some things visible and eliminating our view of other elements. In his classic essay, “A Frame of Reference for Black Politics,” Black political scientist Mack Jones challenged the melting pot, ethnic pluralism paradigm, the prevailing frame of reference for assessing racial politics at the time, as well as the less

popular traditional-systems model being borrowed from comparative politics.<sup>5</sup> He offered a “power theory” of racial conflict, with Whites working to maintain dominance over Blacks, an effort buttressed by institutionalized notions of White supremacy, as a new frame of reference with which to view Black political developments.<sup>6</sup> Jones argued that Blacks could not be seen as one of a variety of ethnic groups who would be incorporated into the American melting pot.<sup>7</sup> Instead, he maintained, Blacks were placed within a racial caste system in the United States, a caste system based on the interplay of dominant–submissive group power relations.<sup>8</sup> His analysis served as a necessary interruption of the typical approaches to thinking about Black politics, and laid the groundwork for theorizing in Black politics that captured the racial power dynamics central to U.S. politics.

In a similar vein, building on the intersectional approach to Black feminist inquiry, I argue for a new Black feminist frame of reference for Black politics. In the following chapters I demonstrate how gender has mattered critically in the development of Black politics in the contemporary era. I examine, among other things, the resurgence and rearticulation of Black macho (i.e., politics focused on pernicious male dominance), the development of White nationalist discourse and Black counter discourses along the fault line of the family, and the representation of Black women as racial traitors in their pursuit of gender equality and justice and in political skirmishes more generally. Taking up this line of research, however, has necessitated that I step outside normative political science approaches; further, it has highlighted the need for a shift in analytical and methodological approaches in the field, in order to account for the central role of class, gender, and race in Black politics.

I develop my claim for a new gendered, Black feminist frame of reference for Black politics on four fronts. First, I detail the working assumptions and definitions that form the core of the Black feminist frame of reference that I use throughout this study. Second, I discuss several ironies in Black politics made visible by a Black feminist frame of reference. Third, I further develop my discussion of narrative analysis, the methodology I use to assess Black politics, by discussing the BCPP as a framing device. And, finally, I discuss my work in relationship to similar work on White and Black nationalisms in the field.

## Frame of Reference

In successive chapters I utilize a frame of reference that adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Black politics, one that integrates key theoretical insights from feminist theory. Specifically, the

frame of reference I propose for thinking about race, class, and gender in Black American politics is based on two interrelated prerogatives. The first is that gender analysis of U.S. politics must not be limited to or focused on a male–female dyad, but should assess the ways in which gendered norms and practices operate within and through political organizations and worldviews. Indeed, one of the key insights to emerge in feminist theory in the past few decades is that “men” and “women” are socially constructed categories that must be historicized and analyzed within specific political and social contexts.<sup>9</sup> We cannot assume, for instance, that cultural and political distinctions between men and women are rooted in their biology or their experiences as men and women qua men and women. Rather, since “[G]ender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and . . . a primary way of signifying relationships of power,”<sup>10</sup> we must investigate the socially constructed meanings of manhood and womanhood in particular historical and social contexts, seeking to understand their role in shaping and directing political attitudes and actions.<sup>11</sup> Employing gender as an analytical category would entail exploring how gender operates within particular political ideologies or worldviews, that is, how assumptions about gender and appropriate gender roles define, inform, and/or direct our political analysis or understanding of the social world.<sup>12</sup>

A second related assumption or component of the frame of reference I propose is the necessity of seeing race, class, and gender as mutually constitutive and productive. Black women have long recognized the “simultaneity of oppression” visited upon them through racial, gender, and class politics.<sup>13</sup> In their classic statement on Black feminism, for instance, the Combahee River Collective acknowledges the impossibility of isolating the politics of race, gender, and class, as well as the necessity for analyzing and addressing these identities simultaneously. As they state, “We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women’s lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously.”<sup>14</sup> As Black feminists have grappled with how to theorize race, class, and gender, they have characterized the unique situation of Black women as being one of “double jeopardy,” “multiple jeopardy,” “triple oppression,” or, as is most popularly described, the locus of an “intersectionality” of oppression.<sup>15</sup>

Most recently, theorizing about the categories of race, class, and gender has moved away from the aforementioned models, however, arguing that these approaches view various aspects of identity as “static distinctions between categories of social analysis.”<sup>16</sup> In her

examination of colonialism, race, and gender, for instance, McClintock argues that race, gender, and class are mutually constituted categories.<sup>17</sup> Political scientists Leela Fernandes and Rose Harris adopt a similar approach. Fernandes's study of gender, class, and culture in the Calcutta Jute Mills illustrates how "the boundaries of a particular category are both constructed through and challenged by other social identities."<sup>18</sup> In her view, the "purity" of categories, the idea that they are, in fact, mutually exclusive, is itself an "effect of power."<sup>19</sup> Rose Harris provides her own thoroughgoing critique of the various theoretical models used to analyze the categories of race, class, and gender, arguing that additive, multiplicative, and intersectional models of identity continue to view categories of identity as separable, as opposed to mutually generative.<sup>20</sup>

The constitutive model of identity is an important advance in that it provides the optimal language and analytical perspective from which to grasp the relationship between gender, race, and class. The language intersectionality suggests the interaction of separable units of identity, where the constitutive model sees the boundaries of categories as expressed or articulated through the production of other "categories." It advances the descriptive project behind previous theories, such as intersectionality, by providing a more refined vocabulary for discussing identity formation.

As the foregoing suggests, what is at stake is not a matter of adding gender as an analytical category and thereby enhancing research, but a matter of acknowledging these social categories as mutually constitutive and utilizing an approach that provides "descriptive adequacy and prescriptive usefulness."<sup>21</sup> As I will show below in the discussion of the "ironies" of Black politics, a frame of reference that appreciates gender, race, and class as mutually constitutive will best capture the current predicament of Black politics. The elements of this frame of reference are not new. Indeed, they are well-established perspectives within feminist theory. They have yet to be fully and consistently integrated, however, in our explorations and practice of Black politics. Utilizing this analytical lens can make visible the complex relationships of power and identity negotiation endemic to Black communities.

In addition to these two theoretical points concerning gender and identity, my frame of reference depends on four key observations regarding nationalism. First, although the focus of nationalism is on the development of community, the construction of nationalist community does not entail the process of universal inclusion that this notion might at first suggest. On the contrary, community membership is defined through its terms of exclusion. Judith Butler explains

this process in the context of identity construction. “[I]t is not enough to claim that human subjects are constructed,” she writes, “for the construction of the human is a differential operation that produces the more and the less ‘human,’ the inhuman, the human unthinkable. These excluded sites come to bound the ‘human’ as its constitutive outside, and to haunt those boundaries as the persistent possibility of their disruption and rearticulation.”<sup>22</sup> Likewise, the process of constructing nationalist community is also a “differential operation” where the ideal national community is formed in relation to its antithesis. As E. Frances White notes, in the United States, the “African American community”<sup>23</sup> has served as the archetypal anti-community in United States nationalist politics.<sup>24</sup> Black people have formed part of the “constitutive outside,” marking the contours of inclusion in the nation or community of citizens by serving as a measure of what the nation is not and cannot be.

Just as the Black community serves as the counterpoint through which White U.S. community is defined, the stereotypical underclass Black community serves as the antithesis through which the Black cultural nationalist community is envisioned. Although Black nationalists critique the role of racism and economic exploitation in the creation of the underclass, in terms of its perceived immorality, the Black underclass represents the antithesis of middle-class respectability at the heart of contemporary Black nationalism. Those who do not fit within or support the normative standards of gender, race, and sexuality consistent with what E. Frances White refers to as a middle-class ideology of respectability<sup>25</sup> are excluded from and form the constitutive outside for the Black community. This would include, of course, Black feminists (because they reject a race-first analysis), gays and lesbians (who are deemed inhuman), and Black women who are perceived as hypersexual and/or emasculating (because they reject notions of sexual propriety and undercut Black male dominance).

Second, in explaining the use of the Black cultural pathology narrative as an instance of White, as opposed to American, nationalism, I am emphasizing the role that race has played in state formation and in developing an imagined community for the United States.<sup>26</sup> Though scholars have rightly cautioned against equating states with nations (a problem exemplified by the easy use of the term “nation-state”),<sup>27</sup> nationalism (and, more pointedly, White nationalism) has been a critical part of U.S. state formation. Anthony Marx explains in *Making Race and Nation* how “Official boundaries purposefully defined and enforced who was imagined as part of the nation and who was not.”<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, too little attention is given to the development of the



United States as a racial state.<sup>29</sup> Using the term “American” nationalism reinforces the tendency to think of Whiteness as an unmarked category. The Black cultural pathology narrative has been critical, however, in reinforcing a specifically White nationalism. This White nationalist project that I identify is both cultural and political. Though it is centered in the apparatus of the state, it has reverberations in popular culture and the public sphere.

Third, my own conception of nationalism not only sees class, gender, and race as the ground through which nationhood is produced, but locates nationalism’s class, gender, and race framework within the concept of community. According to Benedict Anderson’s classic definition, nationalisms work to forge “imagined communities” among individuals who generally have little or no personal relationship.<sup>30</sup> Despite whatever differences may exist, nations are imagined as “fratern[al]” orders having “deep, horizontal comradeship.”<sup>31</sup> Present within most nationalisms, however, is a framework for sexual hierarchy implicit in the concept of community. Under the banner of community, nationalists fashion a politics that, as R. Radhakrishnan explains, generally suppresses certain aspects of identity in the name of forging a national community.<sup>32</sup>

Within African American politics, for instance, the discourse of community elides issues of gender, thus providing a foundation for nationalist politics. As Hortense Spillers observes, “what is suppressed in the public discourse of the analysis, indeed, what the politics of ‘race’ customarily require to be censored . . . [is] the *strong* line of gender . . . [because] African American ‘community’ fractures against the broad back of this paradigmatic social configuration . . .” (emphasis in original).<sup>33</sup> Hence, although the gender power dynamics within nationalism are explicitly left out of most definitions, they are nevertheless implied in the notion of community, given that community is structured, theorized, and understood in gendered terms. In this book, I understand community to be a fraternal order that makes the project of nation-building coextensive with the plight and political subjectivity of its men (typically in metonymic relationship to the nation) and that figures women within the nation in fairly consistent ways. Viewing nationalism as inherently gendered, the Janus-faced nature of nationalism would not be viewed as a peculiar contradiction of anti-colonial or antiracist nationalisms, but would be deemed a result of the logic and substance of nationalism itself. Gender analysis has to be part of the frame of reference in analyzing Black nationalisms, given the centrality of gender to defining community.

Of course, some would argue that such a distinction flattens the scope of nationalist politics and discounts the development of feminist

nationalisms. Lois A. West, for instance, laments that “gender is still not constructed as a central component of nationalism,” but hers is not a broad definition, as she equates “gender” with a quest for gender rights.<sup>34</sup> Only primordial nationalisms “linked to violence, racism, and militarism,” she argues, conceive of gender in masculinist terms.<sup>35</sup> Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tétreault point to the limitations of feminist inquiry into symbolic gender constructions within nationalisms, arguing that such a focus averts our attention from women’s participation in nationalist politics.<sup>36</sup> For the purposes of this study, I do not focus on questions about whether nationalisms are and/or can be feminist, or on a full-scale examination of women’s participation in nationalist politics, although my work has implications for such concerns. I recognize, too, the diversity of nationalisms and the need to historically and culturally contextualize analysis of nationalist politics. These caveats notwithstanding, however, there is no denying that Western nationalisms and the contemporary White and Black nationalist politics I examine are inherently gendered, and bear the features I outline herein. To be sure, every major form of contemporary Black nationalism has been fundamentally marked by masculinist politics, the variety, forms, and impact of which remain under-examined and under-theorized. This highlights the need for a gendered frame of reference for Black nationalisms specifically and Black politics more generally.

Finally, another term that is important in clarifying my Black feminist frame of reference for understanding nationalisms is “self-help.” I use the term self-help in this book in referring to a political tradition within African American politics that emphasizes moral uplift, community-directed action, and economic development, in lieu of pursuing political agency within the U.S. body politic.<sup>37</sup> This self-help political philosophy, a mainstay of Black nationalist and conservative politics, is most commonly associated with the founder of the Tuskegee Institute, Booker T. Washington.

Washington advocated vocational education and economic development as a means of racial uplift, suggesting, at the same time, that Blacks accept the second-class citizenship imposed through segregation, disfranchisement, and wide-scale poverty.<sup>38</sup> In his noted Atlanta Exposition speech of 1896, also known as “the Atlanta Compromise,” Washington stated, “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”<sup>39</sup> Coming in the year preceding the historic *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, this highly publicized speech supported the South’s system of segregation and racial domination.

Understandably, W.E.B. DuBois, Monroe Trotter, and other Blacks challenged Washington's politics, emphasizing the need for broad, liberal education and fighting for political and civil equality for Blacks.<sup>40</sup>

The self-help politics of Washington and others associated with this political philosophy is flawed because of its essentially undemocratic character, and because it fails to grasp the interconnectedness and interdependence of politics, society, and economics.<sup>41</sup> State intervention and regulation is by no means unproblematic, and, in many instances, Black community organizations and civic efforts have played a critical role in performing services for and meeting the needs of the African American population, particularly in cases when government assistance has been lacking or substandard. The self-help politics advocated by Black nationalists and conservatives, however, puts a primacy on internal social and economic development in Black communities, and generally eschews actions designed to make government more responsive to the needs and conditions of African Americans. Self-help politics, so conceived, basically serves as a compromise to status quo political, social, and economic arrangements.

Moreover, this form of self-help politics misses the point that the participation and status of Blacks in the larger political community establishes the parameters within which Black social organization and economic development transpire. Economic development and property accumulation mean little when the state does not honor property rights for Blacks or protect them from White vigilantism.<sup>42</sup> The emphasis on internal community development to the exclusion of state-directed action makes this self-help political philosophy a natural companion to the BCPP, which displaces discussions of racism, argues against state intervention on behalf of minorities and the poor, and uncritically supports the capitalist ethic.

This self-help political philosophy is also undemocratic in that it accepts the U.S. tradition of making moral fortitude a prerequisite for participating in civil society. Following this assumption, Booker T. Washington and Louis Farrakhan, for instance, have both suggested that racism can "die a natural death" when Blacks excel in defiance of White assumptions of Black inferiority.<sup>43</sup> The implication here is that Black excellence and moral uplift will advance the status of Blacks and make Blacks worthy and viable members of the body politic. Sadly, this enthusiastic support of conservative notions of moral uplift by self-help proponents does more than wrongly assume that reason, logic, and virtue can adequately counter racism; it makes providing evidence of Black humanity the litmus test for participation in civil society.

These definitions are central to my understanding of nationalisms, as is reflected throughout this book. They are important, too, in framing discussion of the BCPP and its relationship to the quest for manhood and Black nationalism. As I show in the next section, utilizing a Black feminist frame of reference exposes several fundamental ironies in Black politics.<sup>44</sup> And, it allows us to map the ways in which masculinist priorities and assumptions operate in the context of the BCPP.

### *Irony 1: The BCPP as Conservative Politics in Blackface*

First and foremost, although many see some of the outgrowths of this paradigm—such as the Million Man March, “manhood” conferences, or the Fatherhood Initiative—as having positive political outcomes for the Black community, the ideological underpinnings of the BCPP also served as the basis for the political retrenchment set in motion by the Reagan Revolution of the 1980s and sexist retrenchment in Black communities. More directly, the BCPP is a gendered framework of analysis that assumes that the dissolution of the microstructure of the Black family (i.e., the decline of two parent homes and an accompanying distortion in definitions and operations of manhood and womanhood) produces a culture mired in a “tangle of pathology,” a way of life that promotes drug use, crime, violence, apathy, and even poverty itself. This viewpoint, once roundly criticized in its earlier incarnation in the infamous Moynihan Report, has been the juggernaut of the conservative effort to shift attention away from racism and the public policies through which social inequality is addressed. Indeed, whereas the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the mid-twentieth century forced a discussion of racism on the American political scene, gaining concessions in terms of ending *de jure* segregation and establishing civil rights and voting rights enforcement, the conservative movement in recent decades has redirected public attention away from racism and toward the microstructure of the Black family, and the redefinition of Black male–female roles in line with patriarchal models. Instead of assessing Black social, economic, and political inequality as manifestations of racism, we now define Black inequality as a set of privatized issues that reflect the moral failings and cultural decay of Black people.

An alternative reading of Black life in the United States, one grounded in a Black feminist frame of reference, would identify the economic devastation of the “underclass” and its attendant social

problems as a function of systemic racism and sexism. The current focus on the failings of Black men in the home and community and the effects of female-headed households on the decline of the Black community is a basic feature of the current BCPP or narrative. As Steven Steinberg explains, however, one cannot examine the “underclass” in an historical vacuum or by focusing on individual behavior, as opposed to larger social structures.<sup>45</sup> Steinberg contends that focusing on individuals prevents us from exposing the racist political practices that generated the underclass and that continue to ground its development.<sup>46</sup> It obscures, too, the powerful ways in which gender has animated the development of the U.S. economic and political system.

Although the BCPP denies that economic inequality is the result of racist and sexist domination, racial and gender politics have long been a key determinant of economic development. Even setting aside the slavery era, we know that economic opportunity and development in Black communities have been strictly limited along racial and gender lines. In the post-slavery era, the economy continued to be regulated by race. Black codes, Jim Crow laws, and other legal and extra-legal means were used to keep African Americans tied to an exploitative agricultural system in the South.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, between 1840 and 1930 White immigrants from Europe helped fuel industrial development in the United States.<sup>48</sup> Even given the difficult circumstances they contended with on their arrival, White immigrants were nevertheless poised to reap the benefits of industrialization, and, given the racial landscape of the United States, to assimilate into U.S. politics and society.<sup>49</sup> Though slave labor was used to establish the U.S. economy and set the foundation for industrial growth, African Americans were largely barred from jobs in the industrial centers of the North during the height of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>50</sup>

The development of labor practices in Black communities had significant gender consequences and dimensions. Within the dominant patriarchal model of male–female relations and identity, manhood is largely defined around breadwinning and womanhood around homemaking. Unlike White women, Black women have traditionally worked outside the home, often as domestics and in other service capacities. Black women, thus, have not been positioned to operate within a pedestalized vision of true womanhood by tending home, while their husbands worked in the public sphere. Indeed, our economic system has left both Black men and Black women unemployed and/or underemployed to significant degrees. Since Black men cannot generally fulfill a breadwinner role, they also cannot conform to normative gender standards. This fact in no small part accounts for the

crisis in masculinity experienced by Black men. Also, in a very real way, figuratively and literally the labor of Black women outside of the home facilitated and was a defining counterpoint for traditional, White female roles of tending to the home and avoiding labor in the public sphere.

In the post-Civil Rights era, though African Americans have been afforded greater latitude in occupational and educational opportunities, today, institutional racism and sexism continues in the form of labor market segmentation and disparate access to education and job training. Although primary labor market sector jobs are more secure and offer better pay and opportunities, Blacks are more often relegated to the secondary labor market sector, which features lower-wage, "labor-intensive" positions.<sup>51</sup> U.S. Census Bureau data for the 2000 census, for instance, relates that Blacks were disproportionately represented in service positions (i.e., twenty-two percent compared to fifteen percent for the general population), as well as in "production, transportation, and material moving jobs" (i.e., nineteen percent compared to fifteen percent for the general population).<sup>52</sup> Additionally, whereas thirty-four percent of the population as a whole occupied management or professional positions, only twenty-five percent of Blacks worked in similar jobs.<sup>53</sup>

Blacks do not fare well on most economic indicators. The Census Bureau also reports, for instance, that in 1999, Blacks who worked full-time the whole year had a median income of only \$27,300, a figure that translates into "about \$85 for every \$100 earned by all workers."<sup>54</sup> Black poverty levels, moreover, are twice as high as for the population as whole.<sup>55</sup> In terms of net worth comparisons, the National Urban League's State of Black America 2006 report indicated that, "the median net worth of the average African American family is ten times less at \$6,166 versus the average White family at \$67,000, due largely to the difference in home ownership and income."<sup>56</sup> Notably, the marginal economic status of Black women is reflected in their disproportionately comprising the poor. Black women comprise slightly less than seven percent of the population, for instance.<sup>57</sup> But, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1999, twenty-seven percent of Black women lived in poverty, although only fourteen percent of women in general occupied a similar status.<sup>58</sup>

As with economics, equal opportunity in education has also remained elusive for the majority of Blacks, who continue to battle against racial educational inequality in the form of re-segregation and tracking at the primary and secondary educational levels, among other things. Harvard University's Civil Rights Project (CRP) has tracked several

disturbing racial disparities in education. The CRP's findings indicate that, for districts with over 25,000 students, re-segregation of Blacks and Latinos is the rule, as opposed to the exception.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the CRP reports, "As courts across the country end long-running desegregation plans and, in some states, have forbidden the use of any racially-conscious student assignment plans, the last 10–15 years have seen a steady unraveling of almost 25 years worth of increased integration."<sup>60</sup> The CRP's findings on high school dropout rates are also disturbing. Only about half of all Black, Latino, or Native American students graduate from high school; roughly seventy-five percent of White students achieve this important educational milestone, however.<sup>61</sup> Tracking also remains a serious problem. With tracking, students are placed into different hierarchically ranked categories or "tracks" that are deemed to correspond to their level of academic ability; students tracked at an early age may suffer from diminished school performance in the long term.<sup>62</sup> The CRP observes that "black children . . . are nearly three times more likely to be labeled mentally retarded and nearly twice as likely to be labeled emotionally disturbed" than Whites, a gross overrepresentation that is due to racial discrimination.<sup>63</sup>

The underclass, thus, is the result of structural racial and gender inequality in the United States. The BCPP, propagated by conservatives, denies the historical and contemporary effects of racism and explains poverty and Black social crises as a function of Black cultural ineptitude. Importantly, although conservative Republicans actively promoted the BCPP as a means of undermining race-based policies and family welfare programs, the BCPP has become the conventional wisdom regarding Black economic inequality, enjoying support even in Black communities. Thus, efforts such as the Fatherhood Initiative,<sup>64</sup> drawing on this basic BCPP, attempt to address problems confronting the Black community by rectifying the source of Blacks' pathological culture, namely the family. This fundamental irony, then, is that the gender politics of the BCPP enables both racist retrenchment in the country as a whole and sexist retrenchment in Black communities.

### *Irony 2: The BCPP as Product of Black and White Nationalisms*

As the forgoing suggests, a second important irony, closely related to the first, is that the BCPP, which has defined and animated so much of contemporary political history, was made popular not only by White

conservatives, but by various constituencies within Black America as well. Indeed, the widespread support for the BCPP raises several critical questions. What alchemy of political interest and social phenomena generated such a consensus? How do we explain the commonality in views and support for the BCPP and its attendant remedies for many of the problems confronting African Americans? More pointedly, how can Black nationalists, such as Louis Farrakhan, find broad support and enthusiasm for their assessment of and solutions for what ails African America, when they position themselves (and are seen) as thorns in the side of the White, U.S. political and cultural establishment? The answer, I maintain, lies in the acceptance of the gender politics of the BCPP and its importance in the development of nationalist politics in the United States.

Although Black nationalist organizations, such as the Nation of Islam, are generally regarded as hostile to White supremacy and the White leadership of the U.S. political system, we can see the connection between Black nationalism and U.S. nationalism at work, particularly in events such as the historic Million Man March: the point of connection is the BCPP. The BCPP demonstrates, more pointedly, that Black and White nationalists share much in common, particularly regarding their shared framework for sexual politics. Though Black nationalisms emerge as a response and in opposition to White racism, they nevertheless often adopt various theoretical constructs present in mainstream White society.

Scholars have long recognized the limitations of progressive politics inherent in nationalism in general, and Black nationalism in particular. In the context of anticolonial nationalism, Partha Chatterjee identifies a central paradox between the problematic of nationalism and the thematic of nationalism, for instance.<sup>65</sup> More specifically, this paradox exists, he notes, because of the development of nationalism in opposition to colonial power and the theoretical foundations of nationalism derived from the West.<sup>66</sup> As he explains:

[W]e wish to separate the claims of an ideology, i.e. its identification of historical possibilities and the practical or programmatic forms of its realization, from its justificatory structures, i.e. the nature of the evidence it presents in support of those claims, the rules of inference it relies on to logically relate a statement of the evidence to a structure of arguments, the set of epistemological principles it uses to demonstrate the existence of its claims as historical possibilities, and finally, the set of ethical principles it appeals to in order to assert that those claims are morally justified. The former part of a social ideology we will call its *problematic* and the latter part its *thematic*.<sup>67</sup> (Emphasis in original.)



In the context of the anticolonial nationalism he describes, the problematic of nationalism has the same object, namely the construction of non-Western people as “Oriental”/other, but an oppositional project. The “Oriental”/other is not a passive object of history, but a proactive participant enabling his or her own destiny.<sup>68</sup> In terms of the thematic, however, nationalist thought is grounded in conventional understandings of East versus West and adheres to “‘objectifying’ procedures of knowledge constructed in the post-Enlightenment age of Western science.”<sup>69</sup> He explains further: “There is, consequently, an inherent contradictoriness in nationalist thinking, because it reasons within a framework of knowledge whose representational structure corresponds to the very structure of power nationalist thought seeks to repudiate.”<sup>70</sup>

Similarly, as with anticolonial nationalism, there is a paradox—a tension—between the problematic and the thematic of Black nationalist politics in the United States. Though the immediate problem or objective of Black nationalisms may be to oppose White nationalisms and the racism they employ, Black nationalisms are shaped by the theoretical foundations of White nationalisms in the United States, specifically, and the West, more generally. For instance, at the level of the problematic (to use Chatterjee’s language) the Black Power movement of the mid-twentieth century had the same object—Blackness—as did the hegemonic White nationalism of the day. Importantly, however, it developed a genuinely oppositional project. As Glaude points out, the Black Power movement developed a “politics of transvaluation” in which Blackness was understood not in terms of degradation and inhumanity, but as “a determining category in how African Americans understood themselves as agents, *and* the articulation of ‘blackness’ as a positive value became a means to defiantly challenge the state” (emphasis in original).<sup>71</sup> Black Power advocates developed trenchant critiques of capitalism, racism, and imperialism, and worked to counter these through education and practical initiatives. At the same time, however, their rhetoric, theorizing, and activities very often traded on the same ideas propagated by White nationalists about appropriate gender roles for men and women and stereotypes about Black sexuality. This blunted Black Power advocates’ critique of racism and undermined their revolutionary ethics.

The relationship between the thematic and problematic aspects of nationalism, however, is understandable, given the nature of the production of hegemonic discourse. In her work on Black nationalism, E. Frances White explains this paradox as a typical result of the parley between discourse and “counter discourse,” where counter discourses,

like Black nationalisms, “operate on the same ground as dominant ideology.”<sup>72</sup> Black nationalists’ worldview on gender and sexuality is a specific instance of the paradox Chatterjee describes. In White’s words, it is part of this “same ground” that Black nationalisms share with Western nationalisms.<sup>73</sup> In this sense, in the United States the dominator model of patriarchal manhood is the cultural standard.<sup>74</sup> Men’s public presence and success in the public sphere via work undergirds their ability to control and direct the private sphere of the home. As Black feminist bell hooks observes, Black men have not always adopted this standard, developing alternative definitions and expressions of manhood.<sup>75</sup> Still, in this current political context, the refusal of the patriarchal means for attaining masculinity (i.e., work and financial stability) creates hypersensitivity about not achieving this normative definition of manhood, and heightened desire for this unattainable standard. The requirements of patriarchal manhood are key components of the cultural background through which hegemonic and counter-hegemonic nationalisms are imagined, pursued, and maintained. They form the basis on which the BCPP was developed and continues to extend its influence.

Importantly, some critics of Black nationalisms’ sexual politics, such as E. Frances White, view this feature as a contradiction of its otherwise progressive political objectives, an unfortunate borrowing from mainstream White culture.<sup>76</sup> From this vantage point, Black nationalisms appear Janus-faced or contradictory.<sup>77</sup> The apparent dis-juncture between Black nationalisms’ opposition to White racism, the United States, and the West, on the one hand, and its dependence on Western conceptions of gender politics, what I have termed the Janus paradox of Black nationalisms, on the other hand, is an important clue to the operating machinery of Black nationalisms themselves. Characterizing the gender dynamics of Black nationalisms as a contradiction to their progressive or, in some cases, revolutionary objectives, however, fails to convey fully how the goal of White and Black nationhood is pursued and produced through their gender politics (i.e., through projections of patriarchal masculinity).

Significantly, the BCPP is important in the articulation and development of White U.S. nationalism as well as Black cultural nationalism. Though motivated by competing political positions and motivations, both White and Black nationalists have contributed to the legitimation of the BCPP, and the latter has, in turn, facilitated White and Black nationalist agendas. This paradigm performed double duty. On the one hand, it constituted a political and cultural White nationalism for the United States, reinscribing the boundaries of the nation through its

figurative (and increasingly literal) exclusion of Blacks. On the other hand, it enabled and reinforced Black cultural nationalism amongst African Americans, providing a basis for arguing for the institution of patriarchy in African American communities. Ironically, then, the legitimation of support for the BCPP is a specific example of the paradox identified by White, Robinson, and others; although Black nationalisms emerge as a response and in opposition to White racism and/or nationalism, they nevertheless often adopt various theoretical constructs present in mainstream White society. I argue that the Black cultural pathology narrative is the “same ground”<sup>78</sup> that much of contemporary Black nationalism shares with a larger White nationalist project. If, as Benedict Anderson argues, nationalisms can be understood as “imagined communities,” then it is through the gender politics of the BCPP that the Black nation is imagined.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, in the politics surrounding the BCPP we see the constitutive nature of race, class, gender, and nation and how it operates to demonize and repress Black women. Many scholars, such as Angela Davis, Robin Kelley, Willie Legette, and Adolph Reed, Jr., among others, have noted the importance of this paradigm in the development of contemporary conservative politics and the Black support it has received; however, there has been no full-scale examination of this paradigm in terms of what it reveals about the dialectical relationship between Black and White nationalisms and the role of gender in structuring political thought and practice in both Black and White America.<sup>80</sup>

### *Irony 3: The BCPP as Symbol of Class Cleavages and Gender Politics in Black Communities*

A third critical irony demonstrated by the BCPP is that though much of Black politics continues to center around calls for and/or assumptions of increasing racial solidarity, even among those upwardly mobile Blacks who are ostensibly best positioned to integrate into mainstream U.S. society, it nevertheless exposes a middle-class emphasis driving Black political thought and politics. Significantly, for instance, whereas many traditional civil rights organizations recognized and resisted in various ways the onslaught of the White nationalist, conservative attack against racial justice in terms of voting rights and affirmative action, these same civil rights organizations (e.g., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League) largely supported the critical elements of the BCPP that White nationalists use to marginalize Blacks. This

inconsistency can be explained by the fact that most Blacks, regardless of their objective class status, support the normative gender standards at the heart of the BCPP: that the ideal family structure is a nuclear family in which the male inhabits a position of control and dominance. As Wahneema Lubiano reminds us,<sup>81</sup> even Blacks buy into the “tales of the state”<sup>82</sup> through which they are negatively affected. And, of course, the support of Blacks for the Black cultural pathology narrative speaks, in large part, to the success of the Republican Right’s hegemonic project in this regard.

Absent a Black feminist conception of racism, sexism, and class that reads the creation and continuation of the so-called underclass as a function of race- and gender-based economic development, most Blacks, like other members of the population, accept cultural explanations for the sources of poverty. Most Blacks recognize racism as a critical barrier to racial equality, and would include economic discrimination in the purview of what they define as racism. Still, the BCPP’s micro-level analyses of the “breakdown of the family” compete with and often displace macro-level political understandings of racism’s historic and contemporary impact on the U.S. economy, such as those understandings provided by Black feminists. Given Black nationalists’ support for mainstream cultural gender norms, they nevertheless supported the BCPP, which was critical to the success of Republican conservatives. Consequently, events such as the Million Man March (and its spin-offs—most notably the Million Woman March) are far from being a representation of transcendent racial solidarity, but instead highlight the extent to which middle-class values and priorities aligned with Whiteness and maleness inform the agendas of both major civil rights organizations and Blacks as a whole. They are joined to White male mainstream cultural values that read single-headed households and/or the underclass as a function of immorality. Black feminists, of course, have long challenged both White feminist and civil rights organizations for upholding bourgeois standards as a measure of success in their organizations.<sup>83</sup> The support for the BCPP represents yet another instance in which the gender politics of middle-class cultural norms have proven to be a substantial limitation to Black political organizing and resistance.

#### *Irony 4: The BCPP as Symbolic of the Continuing Denial of Black Feminism*

A final irony that this book explores is the evasion of Black feminism in the study and practice of Black politics. Discussion about the need to analyze the relationship between race, class, and gender continues to

abound within feminist theorizing and the academy as a whole. The continuing prevalence of the BCPP demonstrates that this transformative Black feminist thinking about group and intragroup identities has had little impact on Black political thought and practice. Black feminism has the capacity to enable a frame of reference for reading Black politics that could expose and oppose the BCPP. To be sure, Black feminists have noted and continue to note the importance of addressing race, class, and gender simultaneously—that a racial politics that fails to provide substantive equality for Black women is bankrupt, at worst, and counterproductive, at best. The BCPP and the policies and priorities that it has spawned, however, continue to equate Black liberation with a quest to achieve manhood. Ironically, even as it equates Black liberation with the search for manhood, it legitimates and reproduces identity politics that continues to privilege the category of race, exalting the ideal of racial unity as an abstraction that is divorced from the need to work out concrete political agreement and objectives. In this way, Black political thought and action remain wedded to models of hegemonic racial identification and politics that undermine antiracist politics among Blacks in the United States.

Equally troubling is that by not fully incorporating Black feminist insights into our frames of reference, scholarship in Black politics mirrors this same inattention to the complex dynamics of race, class, gender, and nation, as well. Such inattention has several clear functions. It generates skewed, incomplete readings of politics, because it fails to grapple with the full complexity or range of political dimensions at work. It evades the social scientific standards undergirding political science. Once again, what feminist political scientist Mary Hawkesworth aptly notes regarding political science as a whole is true of the subfield of Black politics as well: “By refusing to read and engage feminist scholarship that challenges basic presuppositions of the discipline, political scientists violate norms of objectivity and systematicity that support the characterization of their own research as ‘scientific.’”<sup>84</sup> Finally, it represents an ideological collusion with the pernicious forms of gender politics that often animate and circumscribe Black politics. This ideological collusion, then, undermines the otherwise creative insights produced by scholars who study Black politics.

Taken together, these ironies suggest that the BCPP provides an ideal opportunity for interrogating and complicating our understanding of the boundaries of racial solidarity among Blacks. Scholarship in Black politics has explored the prevalence and importance of racial group consciousness in terms of a number of indicators, particularly regarding public opinion and voting behavior. As Cathy Cohen reminds

us, however, there have always been conflict and divergent attitudes and interests among Blacks.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the identification of issues of general interest and importance to Blacks as a group—what she calls consensus issues—is itself a political question, as “this designation comes through the framing or manipulation of policy, as political entrepreneurs attempt to satisfy preconceived notions of which issues qualify as meaningful, important, and representative of black communities (Kingdon 1984).”<sup>86</sup> How do we understand expressions of racial solidarity amidst Black feminist injunctions that race, class, and gender are mutually constitutive elements of the political and social world? How do our constructions of gender and other aspects of identity mediate our understanding of racial group consciousness? To what extent can “expressions of racial consciousness”<sup>87</sup> translate into concrete political goals and priorities? These and other questions provide a useful starting point from which to assess the complex relationships of power and identity negotiation endemic to Black communities.

### **Narrative Analysis: On Framing**

My use of narrative analysis invokes framing in its various dimensions, uses, and contexts of operation. As noted in the introduction, narrative analysis can comprise the study of various aspects of narratives, including, rumors, secrets, myths, and origin stories, for instance. These different metaphors are merely suggestive of the wide range of rhetorical practices invoked by political storytelling. Although I examine rhetorical strategies and trope in my narrative analysis of the BCPP I focus on the BCPP as a frame. The frame metaphor is a cultural studies concept that enjoys wide use across disciplines. Framing, for instance, has been used in communication and media studies to understand the role of narrative in shaping our understanding of race and national and international politics, in education to explore the relationship between communication frames and literacy, and in history to explain narrative representations of the family in the medieval and early modern periods in history.<sup>88</sup> And, of course, framing has been used to explore public policy and social movements.<sup>89</sup>

Scholars in these fields examine frames from different angles and develop separate languages to bring precision to work in their respective fields; nevertheless, at its most general level, frames focus attention and interpretation of reality, at once fixing our gaze and eliminating other factors from consideration. For this reason, the idea of a picture frame is useful to describe the framing metaphor. As Rosalynn Voaden and

Diane Wolfthal observe, for instance, “[A] picture frame sets off an object, separating it from all the other objects in a room, and in this way catches the viewer’s attention . . .”<sup>90</sup> To be sure, framing can be adjusted through alternating contexts and subjects, but is ultimately an “active process,” Voaden and Wolfthal remind us, not a static treatment of cultural artifacts.<sup>91</sup> Frame analysts examine the shifting meanings and developments in the framing process, of which politics is a part.

There are several other key observations regarding the nature of frames. First, all political communication develops within cultural frames; we all need and use them. As Schön and Rein explain, “There is no way of perceiving and making sense of social reality except through a frame, for the very task of making sense of complex, information-rich situations requires an operation of selectivity and organization, which is what ‘framing’ means.”<sup>92</sup> Second, even though they are central to politics, people are often unaware of their frames. We analyze and assess society and politics through frames, but are generally unreflective about these “underlying structures of belief, perception, and appreciation” that shape our thinking.<sup>93</sup> We are unaware, as previously discussed, about the ways in which narratives mediate our experience of reality.

Third, the naming and framing of public policy and political interests keenly defines our perceptions and reactions. “Each story constructs its view of social reality through a complementary process of naming and framing. Things are selected for attention and named in such a way as to fit the frame constructed for the situation.”<sup>94</sup> Naming housing problems with the framing metaphor of disease leads to plans for eradication.<sup>95</sup> Seeing the New Orleans residents suffering from the ravages of Hurricane Katrina as refugees or looters, causes “justified” inaction, dislocation, and disdain. Attention must be given, then, to the power of naming and framing in the development of politics.

Fourth, politics is essentially a function of disagreements over framing. As Schön and Rein observe, “We see policy controversies as disputes in which the contending parties hold conflicting frames. Such disputes are resistant to resolution by appeal to facts or reasoned argumentation because the parties’ conflicting frames determine what counts as a fact and what arguments are taken to be relevant and compelling.”<sup>96</sup> What is true of public policy is true of politics more generally; political struggle is waged first over the construction and interpretation of reality. Finally, some frames, such as the BCPP I examine herein, are hegemonic, discrediting and displacing alternative stories and their frames. Importantly, a Black feminist frame of reference can clarify the operation of such frames and provide the basis for generating oppositional narrative frames in the future as well.<sup>97</sup>

I examine framing in its broadest sense in terms of how the BCPP frames or structures political analysis. More specifically, I consider the framing function of the BCPP as a metanarrative or supertext,<sup>98</sup> that is, an overarching, dominant story that names and defines problems, constructs identities, asserts moral and philosophical codes, and proposes solutions. There are several aspects of the BCPP as a metanarrative or supertext that I emphasize. First, the BCPP operates, as do most narratives, on metaphors that help people to make sense of complex contexts and phenomena. It embodies, in fact, two of the most popular metaphor-based storylines animating public policy discourse. As noted policy analyst Deborah Stone has argued, the “story of decline” and the “story of control and helplessness” (hereafter “the story of control”) are the two main narratives in public policy. With the former, commentators describe a fall from a better time, pinpointing those elements that have caused the precipitous decline, and inciting action to prevent inevitable crisis.<sup>99</sup> Central to the telling of decline narratives is “a recitation of facts or figures purporting to show that things have gotten worse.”<sup>100</sup> Central too are the figures that emerge in the telling of these stories. “The drama of heroes, villains, and innocent victims is part of every problem definition, even though one sometimes has to read between the lines to find it.”<sup>101</sup>

The latter common storyline, that of control, asserts that a situation that was admittedly negative and believed to be beyond rectification is manageable through decisive action.<sup>102</sup> One variation of the control story is the conspiracy version, which asserts that a small group of actors have had the power to address and rectify a problem and must be moved to do so.<sup>103</sup> A second variation “blames the victim,” where responsibility for a given problem is laid on those who are victimized, and they are called to ameliorate their problems through behavioral reform.<sup>104</sup> Stone explains: “What all these stories of control have in common is their assertion that there is choice. The choice may belong to society as a whole, to certain elites, or to victims, but the drama in the story is the conversion of a fact of nature into a deliberate decision.”<sup>105</sup> Unsurprisingly, then, decline narratives often segue into control narratives.<sup>106</sup>

Utilizing a Black feminist frame of reference, I demonstrate throughout this work that with the BCPP both of these dominant storylines—and their variations—are visible. Black community crisis is pinpointed (the breakdown of the black family and its attendant social ills), a conspiracy is claimed (the conspiracy to destroy Black men, particularly boys), and a villain is identified (the Black woman). The solutions suggested—changes in family welfare provisions, promotion of



Fatherhood and Faith-Based Initiatives, and protection of Black male public officials said to be targets of racial harassment, for instance—flow logically from these narrative renderings.

A second element of the framing function of the BCPP as a meta-narrative or supertext that I examine, in addition to its dominant storylines, is the dynamic pliability of its circulation and how it exposes the need to understand political discourse, public policy, and political activity intertextually and intratextually. Following literary critic Judylyn Ryan, I argue that we must read intertextually, attending to both text and supertext.<sup>107</sup> The concept of intertextuality in literature suggests that novels and other artistic productions emerge from and respond to the larger economic, social, and political context. They cannot be read without understanding them in relationship to this larger context or supertext. Likewise, political discourse, events, and policy emerge from and respond to the larger milieu in which they are set.

Policy analysts Rein and Schön make a similar point in emphasizing the need for public policy to consider the “nested context” or the broad background in which politics are produced.<sup>108</sup> They identify four relevant contexts: an internal context that relates to the operation of specific programs, a proximate context that refers to the specific “policy environment” for a given program, which includes its interface with other programs, a macro context that relates to “changes in the directions of policy, changes in the institutions designed to carry out policy, realignment of party politics, and economic fluctuations,” and, finally, global shifts, that is, sea changes in history that provide new and different parameters for policy development.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, as they observe further, context and policy exist in a dynamic state of mutual influence.<sup>110</sup>

The BCPP emerged in response to the type of global shift that Rein and Schön describe, namely the retreat from policy and political support aimed at assisting the poor and addressing racial inequality, and this must be taken into account in addressing not only public policy, but political events and discourse. Reading intertextually from a policy, event, or discourse to the supertext of the BCPP allows us to account for the operation of the BCPP narrative as a framing device and to understand the relationship between a policy, event, or discourse and larger historical trends. From this perspective, events such as the March or policies such as the Faith-Based Initiative must be read against the supertext of the BCPP. As a meta-narrative or supertext, the BCPP generates and gives life to—forms the narrative parameters for—these various political phenomena or texts.

It is also imperative to read the meta-narrative or supertext of the BCPP intratextually because it admits a variety of readings or affiliated

readings centering on its constituent parts. The various figures and elements within the narrative serve as flash points for different political and policy goals. I discuss how the BCPP generated changes in the family welfare system and facilitated the promotion of public policy promoting fatherhood and the provision of social services through faith-based organizations. Some of these elements are obviously connected. Others have an implicit link or association. Understanding the relationship between constituent elements—the figure of the Welfare Queen in relationship to the Endangered Black Male, for instance—and their connection to the metanarrative of the BCPP is critical.

As I will demonstrate, this intratextual aspect is particularly important regarding public policy. A distinction that Schön and Rein make about rhetorical and action frames regarding public policy is relevant here. Whereas rhetorical frames inspire support, action frames refer to the specific framing of public policy.<sup>111</sup> Narratives may serve as both rhetorical and action frames, but narratives often give rise to different action frames as they are practically applied and developed in the policy development process.<sup>112</sup>

In terms of action frames, moreover, Schön and Rein distinguish between three types, each keyed to a different level of policy development or implementation. Policy frames, they argue, refer to “the frame[s] an institutional actor uses to construct the problem of a specific policy situation.”<sup>113</sup> Institutional action frames are those “more generic” action frames used in public policy; these are “complex and hybrid in nature” and, therefore, often exist amidst similar, interconnected public policy frames.<sup>114</sup> Institutional action frames are derived from metacultural frames, that is, “broad, culturally shared systems of belief.”<sup>115</sup> As they assert, “The oppositional pairs disease and cure, natural and artificial, and wholeness and fragmentation belong to the realm of metacultural frames. Metacultural frames, organized around generative metaphors, are at the root of the policy stories that shape both rhetorical and action frames.”<sup>116</sup>

Importantly, the BCPP is a metanarrative that serves as both a rhetorical and a metacultural action frame. The BCPP serves to galvanize support and is also the foundation of policy aimed at changing social provision and the family. As a metacultural action frame in the policy environment, the BCPP supports a variety of public policy initiatives with their own institutional and policy frames. The BCPP ultimately informs action frame development in each of the three possible dimensions, that is, at the metacultural, institutional, and policy implementation levels; hence, to simplify and clarify discussion, I use the general term “action frame” to refer to the BCPP’s articulation in

public policy. I demonstrate that the various flashpoints and figures within this metanarrative give rise to varied, seemingly unconnected action frames over time, emphasizing the need to read narratives such as the BCPP intratextually in terms of its constituent parts, especially as it relates to public policy.

My use of narrative analysis does not yield to relativism, where one sees as legitimate an infinite variety of contexts in which texts are set. It is a call to examine the dominant narrative(s) from and through which texts emerge. An example from literature is important here. Toni Morrison's famed novel, *Beloved*, for instance, has been assessed using formalist, Marxist, and psychoanalytic perspectives, among others.<sup>117</sup> And, to be sure, as Morrison and others have noted, texts demand the participation, response, and engagement of readers.<sup>118</sup> Still, as Barbara Christian observes, it is difficult to comprehend and fully engage *Beloved* outside the larger historical and cultural context through which it is staged.<sup>119</sup> More directly, the fact that the main character, Beloved, is an embodied spirit, likes sweets, appears childlike, or "haunts" her family by returning from the dead may seem odd or incoherent without understanding African cosmology or Morrison's text as a commentary on the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>120</sup> Within African cosmology, ancestors or spirits are "everywhere" (a normal part of life), are honored by and enjoy "sweet" offerings, and may return as children, if they are not acknowledged (through offerings) or in order to address "a major conflict, especially the manner of their death . . . ."<sup>121</sup> As a representative ancestor figure, *Beloved* symbolizes the legacy of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery, a legacy, Barbara Christian notes, that still haunts our country and the Black experience because it has failed to be addressed.<sup>122</sup> In a similar vein, I argue, political events, discourse, and policies may seem incoherent or disconnected or largely misinterpreted when they are not read intertextually against the nested context or supratext through which they are generated.

Although most of my analysis of framing integrates public policy and cultural studies, I also use frame alignment theory from the social movement literature. According to Snow et al., social movements provoke participation and mobilization along four frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation.<sup>123</sup> Through frame bridging, organizers convince organizations and individuals with similar concerns to join in collective action. Typically enacted through "organizational outreach and information diffusion through interpersonal or intergroup networks, the mass media, the telephone, and direct mail," frame bridging has been the main form of frame alignment for many contemporary social

movement organizations (SMOs).<sup>124</sup> “Well-known examples include Common Cause, the National Rifle Association, the prolife and pro-choice movements, and the Christian Right.”<sup>125</sup> Frame amplification, on the other hand, is used to highlight how organizers’ values and beliefs resonate with those of would-be supporters. Peace activists have amplified values aligned with the U.S. political system, such as free speech, through highlighting and utilizing their prerogative to oppose nuclear weapons, for instance.<sup>126</sup> Importantly, Snow et al., assert that, “Whereas values refer to the goals or end-states that movements seek to attain or promote, beliefs can be construed as ideational elements that cognitively support or impede action in pursuit of desired values.”<sup>127</sup> They identify five kinds of beliefs that are important in frame alignment, including beliefs about the gravity of a situation, about who is responsible for it, about “stereotypes” of those in power, and about the possibilities and need for resistance.<sup>128</sup>

Frame bridging and frame amplification incite support by tapping into or activating people’s underlying views, but frame extension and frame transformation evoke support through broadening a movement’s agenda. Frame extension enlarges agendas, more specifically, to embrace issues of concern that may not be readily amenable to an organization’s primary objectives, whereas frame amplification works by “keying” would-be supporters’ viewpoints to a markedly different way of understanding. More directly, through frame extension, organizers broaden their efforts to include concerns of would be supporters in order to gain their support. Using the peace movement example, peace activists enacted frame extension as an alignment process by incorporating opposition to racism as part of their agenda; in doing so, they hoped to expand their base to include not only the White middle-class community among whom they had garnered most of their support, but to include minorities as well.<sup>129</sup>

Through frame transformation, on the other hand, organizers promote ideas or frames that substantially challenge deeply held beliefs. This type of frame alignment may be domain-specific or of the global interpretive variety. With domain-specific interpretive frames, one can find “substantial changes in the way a particular domain of life is framed, such that a domain previously taken for granted is reframed as problematic and in need of repair, or a domain seen as normative or acceptable is reframed as an injustice that warrants change.”<sup>130</sup> With global-interpretive frames, adherents come to adopt a “master frame” through which a variety of different domains are understood and interpreted.<sup>131</sup> For example, in the study by Snow et al., it was mentioned that one peace activist came to understand not only matters of

disarmament, but a range of issues “from her interpersonal relations to global issues” through the peace movement.<sup>132</sup> This type of frame transformation occurs through “‘keying’” participants’ experiences, that is, reordering all of their perspectives in light of an overarching political concern and/or worldview.<sup>133</sup> This type of conversion, common in groups such as Hare Krishna or the Unification Church, crystallizes adherents’ framing such that there is little doubt or confusion and few disputes.<sup>134</sup> According to Snow et al., though other factors, including opportunity structures, are important, the ability to fashion frames along these various processes is constantly in negotiation and is critical to successful movement organizing. Significantly, these alignment processes are important for social movement organizations and they are also relevant for micro-mobilization agents, such as churches and community groups, and arguably for single event and/or mass protests as well.<sup>135</sup>

I use framing concepts across disciplines and to describe different dimensions of politics for several reasons. First, they provide an opportunity to integrate helpful analytical tools developed by scholars across disciplines and communities that are useful in explaining framing practices. The four frame alignment processes, for instance, can be used to describe the development of political discourse absent or prior to mobilizing, as well as in policy production. Second, they highlight the interactive and dynamic nature of politics, that is, the fact that politics does not proceed linearly from ideology to social movement or political organizing to public policy pronouncements, but that all of these factors exist in symbiotic relationship.<sup>136</sup> Finally, they provide a means for a meeting space for scholars across disciplines because framing practices and the language of frames is familiar to a range of analysts. In short, they invite and enable cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary dialogue. This cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary integration of frame theory provides a more expansive reservoir of analytical tools with which to examine politics.

Finally, in order to capture the relevance of frame alignment processes outside social movements, I use the language of frame shifting. Frame shifting occurs on two corresponding levels. At the macro or narrative level, supratexts such as the BCPP contain elements or flashpoints that may be emphasized in political discourse at different points. At the micro level, that is, in terms of social movements and the development of policies, frame shifting occurs when the specific packaging or presentation of organizing or policy changes over time. As I will discuss in chapter 3, for instance, the assumptions of the BCPP gave life to policies related to Welfare Reform, Faith-Based Initiatives,

and Fatherhood Initiatives. In each case, frame shifting occurred in that different elements or flashpoints within the BCPP supertext were emphasized. Schön and Rein inform my use of the term frame shifting, in part. In *Frame Reflection* they argue for the need to assess the shifting frames through which people define problems and policies in order to work toward the resolution of frame conflict.<sup>137</sup> My project differs in that it does not focus on the process of frame resolution per se. Instead, I am honing in on the malleability of narratives as they are used to frame problems and policies, in order to highlight and trace the impact of the BCPP and the discourses and policies with which it is associated.

### **An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of the Politics of Gender and Black Nationalism**

My view of the role of gender in contemporary Black nationalisms and of the relationship between White U.S. and Black nationalisms mirrors, complements, and/or extends existing scholarly literature on these subjects in significant ways, most particularly within political science. As noted above, most scholarship on Black nationalisms within political science deals with them within a limited frame, that is, as the polar opposite of integrationism and White nationalisms. Dean Robinson's excellent study, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, provides a welcome departure from this trend, in that he assesses the "mutually constitutive" nature of Black and White U.S. nationalisms through the classical and contemporary periods of Black nationalism. Robinson's work, however, though it discusses the gender politics of various nationalisms, does not deal with gender as a central component of Black nationalism. Also, though he discusses the problematic politics of the Million Man March, he does not discuss the March at length, as I do in this book, or examine the impact of the BCPP on public policy or representations of Black women.

Recently, political scientists have begun to examine the impact of White U.S. nationalism on Black communities, but because they use a traditional, as opposed to Black feminist, frame of reference that focuses on race, they have not dealt with the interface between Black and White nationalisms or the role of gender in accounting for their connections. In *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*, for instance, Black political scientist Carol Swain examines the development of "new racial activists" who self-consciously

identify themselves as “White nationalists” or “White racialists.”<sup>138</sup> Although they may share some ideological tenets of their predecessors, they have jettisoned the white sheets and crude rhetoric of their forbears. The new White nationalists, according to Swain, are educated, politically savvy, and have appropriated the rhetoric of identity politics and civil rights to press their claims.<sup>139</sup> An increase in non-White immigration, tension over affirmative action, and high Black-on-White crime, among other things, have provided a context ripe for the expansion of their ideas, and they have succeeded, in large part, because they provide language and contexts in which Whites can speak frankly about their racial anxieties.

Though Swain draws attention to a critical development in U.S. politics, the frame of reference she uses does not address gender and the mutually constitutive nature of Black and White nationalisms. She goes to great lengths, for instance, to provide a “balanced” analysis, critiquing the double standards of conservatives and Blacks who ignore Black-on-White crime, but in the end she blames the victims and unwittingly affirms the racist, White nationalism of the day, including the manifestation she hopes to expose and discredit. More specifically, she argues that the hot button issues and complaints that account for White racialists’ success are a reflection of the anxiety and animosity generated by racist assumptions about economic opportunity and social and political advancement. Furthermore, Whites have succeeded in finding a language through which to express their discontent and forums in which to do so.

As I argue herein, in fact, it is the dominant narrative about Black cultural pathology and its offshoots that have provided the basis not only for expressing dissatisfaction, but also for providing ideological justification for galvanizing White support for a conservative agenda. To be sure, there are distinctions in terms of rhetorical devices and institutional loci between the White supremacist nationalists Swain discusses and their Republican and Democratic counterparts. They are, nevertheless, more alike than not ideologically, and are best seen as part of a continuum of contemporary White nationalist thought, from neoliberal, to conservative, to racist, to blatantly White supremacist.

Most significantly, the solutions Swain prescribes pacify rather than disrupt a conservative, White nationalist agenda. Swain suggests that public discourse allow for more forthright, public conversation regarding issues of concern to disaffected Whites. In this way, White nationalist ideas about race would be subject to refutation with logic and evidence and, thereby, diffuse the myopia and wrong thinking that results when people converse politically within insular groups or

communities.<sup>140</sup> Such an approach, however, would further sanction hostile, essentialist, race-based claims in public discourse and erode one of the successes of the Civil Rights movement, which was to discredit such openly racist dialogue; of course it still occurs at an increasing rate at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This tactic also falters because it assumes that facts and dialogue are all that are needed to hinder the development of racist thinking. Interestingly, in a final bit of irony, Swain herself creates a double standard. On the one hand, she argues that we need to listen more to White nationalists and provide a space for them to speak openly about controversial issues. On the other hand, she suggests that Blacks stop talking about and pressing for affirmative action or reparations, as even the dialogue about such efforts only polarizes discussions concerning race.<sup>141</sup> In the former case, controversial ideas about Black-on-White crime, increased non-White immigration, and other issues need to be brought out into the light of day, so they can be open to refutation and discussion. In the latter situation, controversial ideas about redress for racial discrimination (i.e., affirmative action and reparations) are third-rail issues that should not be entertained.

While Swain focuses on White nationalism in terms of White racialists on the margins of power, Walters demonstrates that conservatives in the contemporary era have fashioned a White nationalist politics that has had a profound influence on the state, particularly regarding public policy. In an incisive political history and analyses of post-1950s and 1960s Civil Rights movement political developments, Walters argues that competition for jobs and perceptions of Black advancement amid White economic downturn provided fodder for the development of White nationalism.<sup>142</sup> Walters draws parallels between the First Reconstruction following the Civil War and the Second Reconstruction embodied in the Civil Rights movement: they both resulted in a White nationalist backlash made possible by the confluence of White political interests across the ideological spectrum.<sup>143</sup>

Today, the current white nationalist movement, centered in the conservative politics begun in the Reagan era, has resulted in "policy racism," whereby Blacks have been refused family welfare, criminalized and institutionalized at increasing levels, and denied equal opportunity, including in education. Welfare reform has sought to kick people off of the rolls, not to end poverty, according to Walters.<sup>144</sup> Racial minorities who leave welfare, he observes, "experience greater difficulties in finding initial employment and remaining in their jobs than Whites."<sup>145</sup> In terms of crime, Walters notes, for instance that "between 1990 and June 2000, incarceration rates rose rapidly, although crime



rates slowed considerably during this period, declining each year beginning in 1996.”<sup>146</sup> In terms of education, White conservatives have, among other things, argued for school choice through granting vouchers for students from poor areas to attend private schools; this promotion of vouchers constitutes devolution of the federal government’s responsibility for achieving racial equality in education to state and local governments.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, citing a study by Orfield and Eaton, Walters also notes that school integration increased in the post-*Brown* era until White nationalist conservative Ronald Reagan took office.<sup>148</sup> Walters states that “Throughout the Reagan administration, no new desegregation orders were written,” and that because of Reagan’s policies “resegregation” began to escalate beginning with his successor George Bush’s administration.<sup>149</sup>

Walters’s work is a groundbreaking and important study that centers on the contemporary U.S. racial state and its effects on Blacks; it does not, however, capture the critical role that gender plays in facilitating this nationalist agenda. Walters highlights the convergence of White liberal and conservative political interests, positing that Whites’ interests in maintaining a dominant position vis-à-vis Blacks provide a basis for political convergence. Given his frame of reference, however, Walters cannot elucidate how maintaining a priority on patriarchal gender relations in the public sphere of politics and the private sphere of the home provides a point of convergence for those of opposing political interests, that is, White and Black nationalists. Also, though he notes the role of the demonization of Black women in undermining social welfare for poor Blacks, his analysis disregards the centrality of discourse on Black family pathology as it relates to the larger conservative agenda. Finally, he sees the views expressed by those in attendance at the Million Man March as a simple expression of race-based solidarity, without examining the gendered nature of that event or acknowledging the dissent (however muffled), by Black men and women about the pernicious gender politics of that gathering.

My work also differs from recent political science scholarship that focuses on discerning various dimensions or types of Black nationalisms. There is a definite need to develop a more sophisticated terminology to describe and help us understand the complexities of Black nationalist ideology. These scholars have undertaken the important work of refining our political vocabulary. The disciplinary frame of reference they employ, however, cannot clarify how gender operates in contemporary Black nationalist politics.

More specifically, the work that centers on delineating various types of nationalism does not deal with gender as a central category of

analysis or the role of political narratives about Black cultural pathology, and posits a problematic distinction between community and other forms of nationalism that fails to account for the centrality of community to all forms of nationalism. In *Black Visions*, for instance, Black political scientist Michael Dawson discusses several types of Black nationalisms, including what he terms community nationalism, a type of “ethnic nationalism” exemplified by Eugene Rivers, pastor of Azusa Christian Community Church.<sup>150</sup> Community nationalists, such as Rivers, differ from separatists in that they do not disavow “the American nationality” and are not seeking to develop a new nation per se.<sup>151</sup> Dawson writes: “It [community nationalism] incorporates the concept I have called black autonomy and includes the concepts of self-determination, black control of political and economic institutions in the black community, and the building of autonomous black organizations; it rejects separatism and withdrawal from the state, and sees itself as consistent with black liberalism (Dawson 1994a).”<sup>152</sup> Elsewhere Robert Brown and Todd Shaw draw distinctions between community and separatist nationalisms.<sup>153</sup>

These distinctions are limiting for several reasons. First, as I note above, a wide variety of scholars, from Benedict Anderson and Partha Chatterjee in cultural studies and feminists such as Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, to historians such as E. Frances White and William VanDeburg, or political scientists such as the late Michael Rogin or Dean Robinson, have all noted the importance of “community” in theorizing about various forms of racial and ethnic nationalisms, including various forms of Black nationalism.<sup>154</sup> “Community” is important to various articulations of nationalism, whether they be its statehood, nation within a nation, or cultural nationalism varieties. Community is important both in terms of political vision and as a rhetorical tool. The concept of community is central to our definitions and understandings of most forms of nationalism, including Black nationalism, and using it to describe one subset sidesteps this basic fact.

Notably, Dawson’s own work bears this out. Elsewhere in the same chapter of *Black Visions* in which he discusses community nationalism, for instance, Dawson notes, “One natural extension of the position that blacks constitute a nation within a nation is the view that blacks must control the government and economic institutions of the black *community*” (emphasis added).<sup>155</sup> “While the media and some of the leaders of these organizations focused on the commitment of these organizations to armed struggle, the great majority of the day-to-day work of organizations such as the Black Panthers . . . was dedicated to the type of service-oriented *community* organizing with

which many European socialist organizations would have felt comfortable” (emphasis added).<sup>156</sup> He also explains, “all revolutionary nationalists followed the dictate of Malcolm X that ‘we must control the politics and politicians of our *community*. They must no longer take orders from outside forces’ (X 1965, 21)” (emphasis added).<sup>157</sup> The manifesto of the Million Man March states, “‘We mandate that all black men through the entire African World *Community* in cooperation with Black women take immediate control of our *communities* as First Priority’ ” (emphasis added).<sup>158</sup> Whether people define nationalism as a “nation within a nation,” revolutionary, or separatist, the concept of community is central. As Molefi Asante notes in a review of Dawson’s book, “[one is] at a loss to see how community nationalism differs from other forms of Black Nationalism that seek to present the calling cards of self-definition, self-control, and self-determination as the principal icons of the ideology.”<sup>159</sup>

Brown and Shaw’s work advances our understanding of nationalism-based Black public opinion, but is troubled by another variant of the community nationalism distinction; the comparison they make between community and separatist nationalisms bears an implicit and unwarranted value judgment about various “forms” of Black nationalism. Here, community nationalism is infused with positive capital. Community is an abstract political concept that is significant and useful as a political tool. As critical race theorist Patricia Williams would argue, it is one of many “hidden or unspoken models of legitimacy” such as the concepts “Good-Hearted Masses” or “the Real American.”<sup>160</sup> These terms are invoked to add legitimacy and power to political messages. Calling one form of nationalism “community nationalism” implicitly sets up a distinction between community nationalism and other forms, giving community nationalism an unmistakably positive aura. The term community nationalism associates the positive cultural capital of community with one expression of Black nationalism. Minimally, this undermines a critical scholarly disposition.

In the end, despite their significant contributions in other respects, because of the frame of reference they utilize, Dawson, Brown, and Shaw’s analyses fail to adequately capture the gender politics at work in the nationalisms they examine in general or that of the BCPP in particular. Brown and Shaw examine sex-based differences in public opinion, but, again, as Susan Carroll, Linda Zerilli, and others have pointed out, this type of comparison is insufficient and does not measure gender, at least as it is understood by feminist theorists.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, Dawson’s example of a representative liberal community nationalist, Eugene Rivers, is a well-known Black cultural pathology proponent.

Indeed, though Rivers is a critic of separatist nationalists, such as Louis Farrakhan and his Nation of Islam followers, his reading of the nihilism of Black life and prescriptions for change are arguably in line with that of the Nation of Islam. To be sure, both the inclusionist and separatist nationalisms Dawson describes are joined in their support of the BCPP. Further, with the most noted separatist Black nationalist organization the Nation of Islam making overtures toward influencing the political arena (something it has traditionally avoided), the characterization of this organization as repudiating the American political system becomes more dubious. In fact, as I discuss in chapters 2 and 3, the politics of the Nation of Islam and cultural nationalists have significantly overlapped with that of the Right.

In addition to the aforementioned texts, my work also differs from and thus complements that of recent works by Black feminists on nationalism, more specifically that of Melissa Harris-Lacewell and Patricia Hill Collins. In *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*, Black feminist political scientist Melissa Harris-Lacewell examines ideology in Black politics through the prism of everyday talk. Drawing on statistical analyses, ethnography, and textual analysis, Harris-Lacewell presents a welcome and eclectic mix of methods in examining Black nationalism, Black feminism, Black integrationism, and Black conservatism. Her analysis investigates a broader range of contexts in which Black ideology takes shape, and pushes scholars to think more strategically about how political discourse is developed and individuals mobilized for political action. Notably, although she utilizes a feminist orientation and argues for thinking about ideology in terms of its narrative dimensions, her work does not account for the interrelationship between Black and White nationalisms, nor does it examine in detail the BCPP that dominates so much of Black politics. Also, Harris-Lacewell centers on the development of a range of Black political ideologies in the “hidden transcripts” of political development, where Blacks communicate outside of the gaze of the dominant White society.<sup>162</sup> My work centers more directly on how Black ideology interfaces with and affirms hegemonic ideology around morals and the breakdown of the family, particularly as it relates to Black communities, and even in those spaces traditionally seen as sites for the production of hidden transcripts of “resistance” or of progressive political ideology and action. My work focuses in part, then, on what I call the hidden transcripts of complicity in Black communities.

Likewise, Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins’s most recent and extensive examination of contemporary Black nationalism, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, adopts a quite different approach than

the one I employ herein. More specifically, Collins, departing from the usual tendency to categorize different types of nationalism, conflates much of the politics focused on Black racial identification with Black nationalist sentiments and explores why Blacks continue to press for race-based claims. Also, she excavates the religious character of contemporary Black nationalism, suggesting that Afrocentrism, a popular manifestation of contemporary Black nationalism, assumes the character of a civil religion. She also examines the extent to which Black nationalisms and Black feminisms can be merged into an effective progressive politics.<sup>163</sup> Her analysis, in short, centers on a largely different set of questions. Moreover, although Collins examines the role that race plays in the construction of U.S. identity and discusses the relationship of race and gender in the construction of contemporary social policy, she does not examine the mutually constitutive nature of White and Black nationalisms, or, more importantly, Black nationalism's influence on and interface with the state in general, or public policy in particular.

The Black feminist frame of reference and narrative analysis I present, therefore, adds a new dimension to our understanding of Black politics in general and Black nationalisms in particular. Integrating work from women's studies, Black studies, and cultural studies into the theory and practice of political science allows a different range of vision, one that helps us to understand Black nationalisms in their dynamic and mutually constitutive relationship with mainstream White, U.S. nationalisms, and the racial, gender, and class politics through which they are produced.

## Chapter 2

### **“We Shall Have Our Manhood”: Black Macho, the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, and the Million Man March**

#### Introduction

Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* was released in 1978 amidst a storm of controversy. Academics, political commentators, feminists and non-feminists, and even Faith Ringgold, the author's mother, criticized it.<sup>1</sup> Darryl E. Pinckney's review in the *Village Voice* is suggestive of the tenor of most commentators on the book. While Pinckney credited Wallace with bringing sexism to light in the Black community in the broadest sense, he nevertheless dubbed *Black Macho* “an elusive work . . . [whose] pages offer autobiography, historical information, sociology, and mere opinion dressed up to resemble analysis. It is a polemic, seriously felt, sometimes scathing, often repetitious.”<sup>2</sup> It was criticized, not only in the *Voice*, but also in the pages of the *New York Times*, *Freedomways*, the *Black Scholar*, and other leading public forums.<sup>3</sup> In 1979, in fact, *The Black Scholar* dedicated an entire issue to a discussion of *Black Macho* and Ntozake Shange's choreopoem, *for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow was enuf*, that featured over twenty prominent African American scholars, political commentators, and activists, including June Jordan, Maulauna Karenga, Audre Lorde, Julianne Malveaux, Alvin Poussaint, Robert Staples, and Kalamu ya Salaam, among others.<sup>4</sup>

Heralded as the book that would “shape the 1980s” by *Ms.* magazine,<sup>5</sup> Michele Wallace's book exposed sexism in the Black community generally, and presented a formidable critique of the gender politics of Black Power ideology. The book dealt with twin stereotypes of the African American man and woman: *Black macho*, the image of the hypersexualized Black man that was, according to Wallace, appropriated

by Black power advocates and transfigured into the ideal Black freedom fighter who reads the quest for Black liberation as a search for manhood, and the *superwoman*, or stereotype of the strong Black woman who is embattled, but ultimately impervious to the onslaught of White racism. Although the book's main focus is a critique of the sexual politics of Black nationalism during the late 1960s, most critics avoided a direct attack or close reading of her argument.

Ironically (and, I think, instructively), although her critique of such a popular ideological commitment as Black Power is what made this such a controversial book in the Black community, most opted to destroy the credibility of the book through attacking Wallace's character, scholarly ability, and priorities and/or by raising questions about the severity of sexism in Black communities and the priority it should receive in considerations of Black liberation strategies. Many of the book's opponents questioned Wallace's basic assumption throughout the text that sexism was a very real form of oppression in the lives of Black women. Robert Staples, for instance, argued that we could have a serious talk about sexism in the Black community, if we could ever actually define it.<sup>6</sup> According to Staples, most of what people identified as sexism was merely the way men had been socialized.<sup>7</sup> Others emphasized and/or implied that, whether or not sexism was at play in Black communities, racism was a more serious and immediate problem.<sup>8</sup> Two related corollaries to this argument were that Black men were "the number one object of racism,"<sup>9</sup> and that racism was affecting Black men to a greater depth and magnitude, as evidenced by the supposed greater success of Black women in educational attainment and employment.<sup>10</sup> Given the popularity of Marxist thought during this period, scholars naturally argued that both racism and sexism were superstructural issues, minor contradictions that were "derivatives of a larger contradiction between capital and labor."<sup>11</sup> Although the arguments were varied, they all conveyed the basic idea that sexism need not be given urgent consideration in Black America.

Others attacked Wallace's feminism directly, maintaining that it was a dangerous ideology alien to the Black community; I discuss this argumentative thread at length in chapter 4. Arguments ranged from claims that the Black woman was liberated and did not need feminism, that Black women were harming Black men and the Black community, that White feminists were getting Black women like Wallace to attack Black men, and, on the extreme end of this line of reasoning, that Wallace was a neocolonialist "artistic agent-provocateur" with possible links (via Gloria Steinem) to the CIA.<sup>12</sup> A third major complaint, stated directly or implied, was that the book was simply not sound

scholarship, or even scholarship at all.<sup>13</sup> Wallace's ability to reason was questioned. One commentator openly wondered if her youth and inexperience (Wallace was twenty-six when the book was published and "between the ages of eight and sixteen" during the mid-twentieth century Black freedom movement) accounted for what she deemed to be insupportable claims.<sup>14</sup> The genre-bending nature of her work also ruffled the academic sensibilities of her critics. Wallace's work was a weave of autobiography, textual analysis, history, sociology, and biting political commentary, and depended on media and cultural analysis. In the end, these criticisms, however strident or popular, serve as a commentary on the inability of Black political thinkers to assess the operation of gender in their own rhetoric as opposed to legitimate assessments of Wallace's work.

Certainly from a contemporary perspective, the attacks against *Black Macho* seem especially dubious. Few people (at least in the academy) argue that sexism is not a very real force in the lives of Black women, and the current political and theoretical focus is to think about how race, class, and gender are mutually constitutive rather than competing forms of oppression.<sup>15</sup> Although many still see feminism as a foreign ideology that is not readily embraced by Black women, youth culture, particularly what is presented as "ghetto" youth culture, is received as cutting-edge commentary, a window even, into the rage and dissatisfaction engendered by modern racism.<sup>16</sup> Young writers and media personalities (such as Sister Souljah, Kanye West, and the late Tupac Shakur), for instance, are celebrated as spokespersons for their generation. And surely the autobiographical component of Wallace's work would fall right in line with the anthropological commitment to self-exposure in contemporary scholarship. In actuality, despite its hostile reception by Black political commentators, there is much that we can learn from this oft-dismissed, but rarely analyzed feminist work.

Indeed, contrary to conventional scholarly wisdom, Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* is a book of great vision. I argue that the recuperation of Wallace's analysis of 1960s Black nationalism could aid in our understanding of dominant forms of Black nationalism at that time and today in two important ways: first, in our perception of Black nationalism's relationship to mainstream White culture and (White) American nationalism and second, in our understanding of how gender power operates and functions in Black nationalist political discourse. It is a text worth revisiting both for its substantive contributions and because its mode of analysis can serve as a model for Black feminist assessments of Black



nationalisms. In supporting this claim, I will first review two of the current trends in theorizing and scholarship on Black nationalism. Second, after discussing the relevant literature, I will then situate Wallace's analysis of Black nationalism within this contemporary scholarship. Finally, I will demonstrate how Wallace's key insights and analytical approach are relevant in evaluating Black nationalist discourse today through an analysis of the cultural explanation of poverty and the decline of the Black family that generated the 1995 Million Man March.

### The Visionary Aspects of *Black Macho*

Wallace's focus on the relationship of Black nationalist discourse to currents in White mainstream culture and her identification of a certain pernicious form of gender politics as the operating logic of Black nationalisms contradict long-standing assumptions about Black nationalisms in the United States. The conventional wisdom about Black nationalisms suggests that they all share fundamental characteristics, disidentify with the larger White culture, and are inherently progressive in terms of opposing practices of racial subordination. We generally view Black nationalist organizations as hostile to White racism and mainstream White culture.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, a strong contingent of Black nationalists, such as Molefi Asante (the theoretical architect and chief advocate of Afrocentricity) and Maulana Karenga (founder of Kwanzaa) affirm and embrace—and are associated with—African, as opposed to American or Western, cultural values and practices. On the other hand, to the extent that questions about sexism are raised with regard to Black nationalist groups, sexism is seen as an unfortunate borrowing from mainstream White culture, and a betrayal of the egalitarian ideas we associate with the fight against racism.<sup>18</sup> A growing number of scholars, however, are challenging these two basic views, pointing out that Black nationalisms develop in dialectical relationship with American politics and nationalism and that gender politics often provide the operating logic of much of nationalist politics.

Notably, although it is not popularly thought of in this way, Black nationalism has developed logically as a response to White nationalist state domination. In his classic work on Black nationalism, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism 1850–1925*, Wilson Moses explains, “Like many other nationalisms it [i.e., Black nationalism] was the reaction of a formerly disunited group to a sense of mutual oppression and humiliation.”<sup>19</sup> White “American” nationalism has

manifested itself in a variety of ways including, but not limited to, the social and legal standard for defining who is Black (i.e., the institution of the “one drop rule”), the development of Blackface minstrelsy as a popular, cultural art form, and restrictions and limitations on the citizenship status of African Americans. (Today we see White nationalist formations in a number of contexts, the militia movement, aside from the BCPPI analyze below, serving as the most prominent example.) Although their characteristics varied, Black nationalisms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, then, emerged as a response to, and in the context of, particular conditions of White dominance.

At the same time, although Black nationalisms emerge as a response and in opposition to White racism, they nevertheless often adopt various theoretical constructs present in mainstream White society. Moses, for instance, argues that nationalists at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries shared many of the basic ideas about civilization and race as their white counterparts.<sup>20</sup> In her work on Black nationalism, E. Frances White argues that counter discourses, like Black nationalisms, often share the “same [theoretical] ground” as the discourses to which they are ostensibly opposed.<sup>21</sup> For White, this paradox is understandable, given the nature of the production of hegemonic discourse, and a typical result of the parley between discourse and “counter discourse.”<sup>22</sup> Political scientist Dean Robinson makes a similar point in his study of twentieth-century Black nationalisms; Robinson argues that, despite their similarities, Black nationalisms have been significantly varied throughout different historical periods.<sup>23</sup> Thinking of Black nationalisms as essentially the same across centuries imputes a “transhistorical” character or timelessness to Black nationalisms, he maintains, a notion that is belied by their weddedness to the various and changing mainstream currents of American politics.<sup>24</sup> He argues, moreover, that Black nationalisms and White American nationalisms are, in his words, “mutually constitutive.”<sup>25</sup>

In another vein, feminist scholarship has increasingly focused on the need to elaborate how gender power is a fundamental component of nationalist politics. Generally, despite the persistent and pervasive presence of masculinist sexual politics in nationalist discourse and practice, scholars have been reluctant to evaluate nationalism in light of its consistently gendered politics.<sup>26</sup> Anne McClintock, for instance, contending that all nationalisms are inherently “gendered,” “invented,” and “dangerous,” laments the dearth of theorizing about the gendered nature of nationalism.<sup>27</sup> A theory of nationalism absent a theory of gender power, in her view, is at best inadequate. Toward

this end, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias have identified “five major (although not exclusive) ways in which women have tended to participate in ethnic and national processes and in relation to state practices,” namely:

- (a) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities;
- (b) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups;
- (c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture;
- (d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences—as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories; [and]
- (e) as participants in national, economic, political, and military struggles.<sup>28</sup>

McClintock, Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and other feminist scholars have made significant interventions in scholarship on nationalism.<sup>29</sup>

Black feminists have contributed to our understanding in this regard by undertaking examinations of the various ways in which gender operates in Black nationalist organizations and Black nationalisms’ weddedness to mainstream patriarchal notions about the family specifically, and manhood and womanhood more generally. E. Frances White demonstrates that though Black nationalism has opposed racism and White nationalism, a “range of nationalist thinking . . . fail[s] to confront the sexist models that ground an important part of their work.”<sup>30</sup> She notes, for instance, that some Black nationalisms (albeit, at times, with a different “moral code”) adopt a gendered and bourgeois “ideology of respectability” as the basis for their politics.<sup>31</sup> Patricia Hill Collins has also addressed issues of gender and Afrocentrism, maintaining that “Afrocentrism may ‘resist’ and ‘react’ to the premises of racial scholarship, yet it remains ‘trapped’ in its premises concerning gender.”<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in their important piece, “Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions,” Barbara Ransby and Tracey Matthews evaluate the gendered norms and political implications of contemporary forms of Black cultural nationalism, including: Afrocentrism, the explosion of interest in Malcolm X in the late twentieth century, and certain genres of hip-hop.<sup>33</sup> These developments, they argue, are “all testimony to the legitimate rage and disaffection from American society that millions of black youth feel.”<sup>34</sup> Still, as they explain, “The representation of those symbols in exclusively male form, the class bias and essentialism of Afrocentricity and, in the case of rap, the accompanying denigration of black women, dull the

radical edge that these modes of cultural expression might otherwise represent.”<sup>35</sup> And notably, in her study, *Autobiography as Activism*, Margo V. Perkins assesses, among other things, the gender politics of the Black Panther party by delineating the sadomasochistic paradigm that informed that organization’s political practice, particularly through disciplinary actions within the party.<sup>36</sup> These and other works do not constitute efforts to develop grand, universally applicable theories about the relationship between gender and Black nationalism, but provide particularized analyses of historically specific, discrete Black nationalist formations.<sup>37</sup> They embody, in a fundamental way, the general approach adopted by Wallace in the 1970s.

Indeed, Wallace’s book prefigured and unites both of these general trends in recent scholarship on Black nationalism and gender and nationalism, respectively. Wallace analyzes Black Power ideology as a political discourse that frames Black liberation as a quest to achieve manhood, and asserts (and this is the truly scandalous part) that the sexual politics that define Black power ideology are actually borrowed from White society’s racist imaginations.<sup>38</sup> According to Wallace, in the slavery and immediate post-slavery periods, Blacks maintained an independent perspective by which they valiantly resisted slavery through the day-to-day struggle to survive, as well as through fighting for rights and opportunities.<sup>39</sup> Over the course of time, however, Blacks lost their own definition of who they were and their own problems, and adopted a White frame of reference for thinking about themselves.<sup>40</sup> Wallace argues that, having adopted this White frame of reference, one that equates power with sexual conquest and masculine domination and bravado, Blacks developed a response to White racism that emphasized Black macho, the militant expression of Black manhood, self-actualization, and sexual potency.<sup>41</sup>

As she explains, “For hundreds of years white men had written and spoken about how the black man was ‘hung like an ape,’ about how he [f’d] like an animal. The big black prick pervaded the white man’s nightmare. Why? In a male chauvinist society each man is . . . threatened by every other man’s virility.”<sup>42</sup> She continues:

On one level, the emotional, hysterical level and the level on which most powerless white men react, white men feared the black man’s sexual dexterity, the black man’s sexual appeal, and the black man’s attraction for the white woman. But on another level, on the level at which actual power changes hands, white men feared the black man’s penis as the starting point of black families, of the strength of numbers, of the perpetuation of the race, and the resourcefulness gained from centuries of oppression.<sup>43</sup>

Elaborating further on this point she writes:

Yes, white men were perversely obsessed with the black man's genitals but the obsession turned out to be a communicable disease and in the sixties black men came down with high fevers. Richard Wright was the first to present the white nightmare, Black Macho, as a vehicle of liberation. Then Mailer spoke of the nobility of the primitive within America's center and described how if that primitive was ever to realize his equality . . . he would rule the earth. Black men began to harp on the white man's obsession with their genitals and that was the very point at which their own obsession began to take hold. Baldwin, under pressure, Jones, Cleaver, and many others began to glorify the primitivism of the black man, to take his macho out of the category of human error and place it in the category of divine destiny.<sup>44</sup>

Through a close textual analysis of the key writings from the period, Wallace demonstrates that Black power answered this racist worldview not by challenging its obsessive focus on the Black man's virility or its assumption that sexual conquest was the true basis of manhood. Instead, it adopted, and thereby validated, its basic assumptions. Wallace's genius was in identifying within a discrete historical period and cultural context how an oppositional project like Black Power constituted a counter discourse that shared the same ideological ground as dominant White racial discourse. Moreover, in sync with and anticipating the turn-of-the-century demand to identify the role of gender in nationalist ideology, Wallace described the macho impulse in Black nationalism as the sexual politics that marked the boundaries of racial conflict.

In this context, we can read Wallace's discussion of interracial relationships between Black men and White women not as a personal fixation on sex or meaningless aside, but as a prominent component of Black macho 1960s politics. Wallace's critics maintain that her treatment of interracial relationships was, at best, gratuitous, and, at worst, a trivialization of the Black Power movement. From a social science perspective, one can appreciate Wallace's effort to theorize about the causation of a notable social phenomenon. Wallace herself clarifies: "If *Black Macho* gives the impression that I felt as though interracial dating constituted a turning point in the Civil Rights movement, I need to say that is no longer my conviction—if it ever was. I had meant to point it out as symptomatic of an aspect of my changing environment as a young black woman in New York."<sup>45</sup> Wallace theorized that middle-class Black men selected White women as mates out of an unconscious disidentification with the past life from which they

wanted to disassociate, given their newly found upward mobility.<sup>46</sup> In this regard, she avers, Black men are not different from Asian, Italian, Jewish, or other men who are striving for economic success and social acceptability in the United States.<sup>47</sup> More importantly, she noted the irony of the increase in interracial dating at the height of the Black Power movement and explained the significance of the White woman in Black Power ideology and practice. She notes that, in the masculinist thinking from which Black Power emerged, the White woman symbolized the apex of femininity and the prized possession of dominant White male culture.<sup>48</sup> Wallace reveals that this attitude was clearly reflected in the writings of key Black power adherents from the period. Some writers, such as Amiri Baraka, identified the rape of the White woman (i.e., “the taking forcibly of one of whities’s treasures’ ”) as the ultimate in retribution for White male domination.<sup>49</sup>

Ultimately, in *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, Wallace correctly named a masculinist definition of Black liberation as a significant limitation to the Black Power movement’s success. Other freedom movements valued the contributions of women, according to Wallace. But, she complained, “Black Macho allowed for only the most primitive notion of women—women as possessions, women as the spoils of war, leaving black women with no resale value. As a possession, the black woman was a symbol of defeat, and therefore of little use to the revolution except as the performer of drudgery . . . .”<sup>50</sup> Of course, Black women certainly did exercise leadership in both the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, although their leadership was not recognized as such.<sup>51</sup> Black Power advocates, nevertheless, worked to contain Black female leadership and diminish their role and importance in organizing and in the history of the movement.<sup>52</sup> Robbed of access to the means of real power, Black Power advocates, at the expense of garnering true equality, opted for a rhetorical show or assertion of masculinity, hence the focus on oppositional rhetoric and police defiance.<sup>53</sup>

Black Power represented, according to Wallace, an effort at superficial manhood as opposed to the development of a viable patriarchy, White society’s true standard of masculine achievement. As Wallace relates, in *Soul on Ice*, Eldridge Cleaver ends his discussion of the assassination of Malcolm X by declaring on behalf of Black men that, whatever obstacles may present themselves, “‘We shall have our manhood . . . .’ ”<sup>54</sup> In measuring whether the Black Power movement successfully achieved this, Wallace emphasizes:

That [it really] depends upon how you look at “manhood.” If you accept the definition America force-fed the black man—access to white

women sexually and the systematic subjugation and suppression of black women—then the answer is an unequivocal yes. But if we consider America's actual standard of "manhood"—control of the means of production and power; in other words, money—the answer has got to be no.<sup>55</sup>

She adds:

The patriarchal black macho of Malcolm X might have proven functional—black women might have suffered their oppression for years in comparative bliss—but black men were blinded by their resentment of black women, their envy of white men, and their irresistible urge to bring white women down a peg. With patriarchal macho it would have taken black men years to avenge themselves. With the narcissistic macho of the Black Movement, the results were immediate.<sup>56</sup>

In the end, Wallace is convinced that neither form of Black macho is useful, and that efforts to attain equality for Black men and women can never be achieved unless Blacks refuse the stereotypical thinking of White racism and fashion a political agenda borne out of Black culture and the priorities of Black communities.

Significantly, whereas Wallace originally hoped her critique of Black nationalism would enable a corrective change in the politics of the period, she later came to see the gender dynamics she assessed as a component part of Black nationalisms. She writes in the introduction to the latest edition of her text:

The arguments by which my book is best known . . . were all minor points in my larger argument, which was really about black nationalism with a feminist face and black female self-determination. I now feel that the biggest failure of the book was that I didn't understand the problems inherent to nationalism as a liberationist strategy for women. I thought that the men were simply leaving women out because it hadn't really occurred to them to do otherwise. I didn't see that it comes automatically to nationalist struggles to devalue the contributions of women, as well as gays or anybody else who doesn't fit the profile of the noble warrior or the elder statesman.<sup>57</sup>

Even if one concedes that major forms of Black nationalisms have been inherently gendered, however, there is still much to learn about how their construction of gender shaped, contained, and/or directed their politics. The Black Power politics of the 1960s and 1970s that she examines included, for example, organizations deemed culturally

nationalist such as Maulana Karenga's US, as well as organizations such as the Black Panther Party, with revolutionary aims. Each organization and/or variety of Black Power politics influenced gender politics in the Black community, and each demands its own examination in terms of its gender ideology. This should include, of course, assessments of their overall philosophy and structural organization, as well as how the gender politics of these organizations changed over time. We cannot assume or assert that Black Power ideologies specifically, or Black nationalisms more generally, are transcultural, transhistorical phenomena in their effects and operation. Rather, acknowledging that Black nationalist politics are typically mediated through gender should direct us to continue to study the operation of gender in Black nationalisms in concrete, historical situations.<sup>58</sup>

As the ensuing discussion will demonstrate, contemporary political history would soon provide one such opportunity. In the decades following the publication of *Black Macho*, alternative renderings of the Black macho and Black superwoman archetypes that Wallace described would emerge, and they would ultimately result in the largest gathering on the mall in the nation's capital—the 1995 Million Man March.

### **Black Macho Today: Black Male Endangerment, Black Cultural Pathology, and the Million Man March**

Today, traces of the narcissistic macho Wallace described can still be seen in Black popular culture, specifically in the music and public persona of “gangsta” and other hip-hop rap artists, such as Snoop Dog, Dr. Dre, the late Notorious B.I.G., Fabolous, Jay Z, Ja Rule, and Ludacris, as well as movies such as *New Jack City*, *Belly* and *In Too Deep*, along with the full gamut of Spike Lee films, most notably *School Daze*. This emphasis has made room for a different focus on masculine achievement, however. Almost as if in answer to Wallace's critique, beginning in the 1980s Black nationalist discourse focused increasingly on the microstructure of the family, and included in it a drive to displace the Black female strength and self-sufficiency taken to be represented by female-headed, single-parent households. In current Black cultural nationalist discourse, Black macho returns as the pursuit of the “real thing,” the patriarchal macho that Wallace described as beyond the reach of Black men in the 1960s. Although most Black men are still financially ill-equipped to achieve this end,



the potency of this new Black macho impulse, as well as its relationship to mainstream American politics, is best symbolized in and made possible the historic gathering of Black men in Washington at the 1995 Million Man March.

Even though the March was conceived, organized, and directed by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, a man reviled by most White politicians and political commentators, it received support from most segments of the Black community, and most of the country's non-Black population. A *Washington Post*/ABC News Poll, October 1995, told respondents, "As you may know, the Million Man March is intended to encourage black males to accept more responsibility for their families and communities" and then asked them, "Do you support or oppose such a march?" Seventy-six percent of the respondents said they supported the March on this basis.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, according to a *Newsweek* article, "72% of Blacks—and 53% of whites—think the call for black self-help at the Million Man March was a necessary step toward future integration."<sup>60</sup> Finally, a CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup Poll, October 1995, indicated, "Blacks overwhelmingly believe that the march in Washington was mostly a good event for them to take part in (85%), while only 10% disagree. And by a substantial margin (61% to 19%), they think that the march will mostly help rather than hurt relations between blacks and whites."<sup>61</sup> Most Whites also affirmed that the event would be "positive," although they were less sanguine about its value in helping relations between Blacks and Whites.<sup>62</sup>

The most publicized and widely discussed criticism of the March was that the "messenger," Louis Farrakhan, was anti-Semitic. An article, entitled "Black Leaders Vow Support for Men's Rally Farrakhan Jibes Won't Halt March," published in the *Star Ledger*, records that, "Abraham Foxman, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said the march has been tainted by Farrakhan's [anti-Semitic] bigotry."<sup>63</sup> Notably, he makes no complaints about the overall themes of the March. Similarly, in an article in the *Times of London*, entitled "Clinton Woos the Black Vote with U-Turn on March," President Clinton, though critical of Farrakhan, nevertheless supported the goals of the March, commenting through his White House spokesman Mike McCurry that the March would yield "a positive outcome as a result of the work of those who are going to gather . . .," for the March.<sup>64</sup> Many, such as SCLC president Joseph E. Lowry, voiced concerns about Louis Farrakhan, the "messenger," but affirmed and supported the March's "message." In an *Atlanta Constitution* news article, "SCLC Supports March on D.C. by Farrakhan," by Hollis R. Towns, Joseph Lowry explained, "While

we have serious differences of opinion with Minister Farrakhan on theological, doctrinal and political issues, we nevertheless share his concerns about the need for spiritual awakening and a stronger role for black men in strengthening the black family.’”<sup>65</sup> Several questions are relevant to consider, given the March’s support. What accounts for the consensus of support for patriarchy as a solution for what ails Black Americans? How did Farrakhan, a political figure often vilified for anti-Semitic remarks and/or the radicalism of his politics, find significant backing for the Million Man March?

Designated as the “Day of Atonement,” the March drew hundreds of thousands of African American men to the nation’s capital under the rallying cries of “atonement” and “reconciliation.” Black men were called to make amends for their failure as leaders in the home and community and to rededicate themselves to fulfilling their roles as men. According to the leaders of the March, the solution to the various crises facing African Americans, from drug abuse, to violence, to high teenage pregnancy rates, lay in the ability of Black men to restore an appropriate two-parent family structure in African American communities. Unlike previous mass demonstrations, moreover, this March did not constitute a demand on the state for political action to address one or more aspects of racism or economic inequality, but instead provided an impetus for Black men (and Black people as a whole) to focus on self-help political strategies. The priorities of the March—its focus on the microstructure of the family, its assumption that the various crises confronting African Americans are owing to their own moral disabilities, and its identification of self-help as the optimal approach to confronting said problems—all account for the popularity of the March and the broad support for the March’s message.

The patriarchal macho at the core of the March’s message traded on the metanarrative of the BCPP popularized over the past twenty-five years. From the perspective of the BCPP, the appropriate form for families is the two-parent home made up of a wife, husband, and two or more children, with the father serving the traditional patriarchal function. The family is the most important social unit in the nation, in fact, and, since Black families are matriarchal in nature, Black people are doomed to exhibit a range of dysfunctions, as Moynihan so presciently warned us decades ago.<sup>66</sup> The appropriate remedy, consequently, for the host of troubles haunting the beleaguered Black masses has little to do with education or economics, but with finding solutions to their own lack of cultural moorings. The appropriate remedy, more pointedly, is to provide an answer to Hoover’s chicken in every pot: a Black patriarch in every home.

Even in the earliest incarnation of this argument, a focal point of this narrative has been the effect of Black matriarchs on Black men. Black men are said to be effectively denied the environment in which to develop and function as men by having women rule the hearth in the absence of the rightful patriarch. The current rendition of this narrative, however, crystallizes and embodies this narrative within two powerful fictive characters: the Black Welfare Queen and the Endangered Black Male. The decline of Black males on a number of indicators is tied not to racism *per se* but to their life in the inner city and the aberrant family structure in which they are reared.

In a very real way, as the above suggests, the BCPP undergirding the March tied together two popular narrative, metaphor-based frames identified by policy analyst Deborah Stone, specifically, the narrative of decline on the one hand and the story of control and helplessness on the other. As noted in chapter 1, narratives of decline often feature villains and victims, note a fall from a previously better era, and often feature statistics to shore up the nature of the impending doom or crisis. With stories of control and helplessness, a situation previously deemed helpless or beyond repair is now open to control or rectification. The BCPP bears all of the elements of a narrative of decline. There is a crisis identified in the breakdown of the Black family and of a moral system that would maintain order in Black communities and the nation as a whole. With the BCPP, the Black Welfare Queen is a villainous character, leeching off of the public purse and depriving Black men of their rightful place of patriarchal authority and Black boys of a proper environment for rearing. The Endangered Black Male is endangered and victimized not only by society, but by the Black Welfare Queen in particular and emasculating Black women in general. The BCPP is also a story of control and helplessness in that it suggests that the negative situation in Black communities, centered in Black families, can be rectified, here through a moral rehabilitation and blame-the-victim emphasis.

The Million Man March grew out of and reflected this narrative structure. It also symbolized the triumph of the BCPP as a point of connection between Black and White nationalists in the contemporary era. Significantly, just as a gendered reading of racial conflict formed the basis of both discourse and counter discourse in the 1960s, the gender politics of the BCPP would serve as the shared ideological ground or frame for both Black and White American nationalisms in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>67</sup>

For more than twenty-five years, conservatives have consistently portrayed the decline of the Black family as the source of African

America's social and economic problems, and this would serve as a central frame for reading U.S. politics. Entering his first term with a promise to end "big government," Reagan portrayed Black women receiving family welfare in an effort to assist them in their struggle for survival as the key drain on the public purse. Under Reagan's version of the Black cultural pathology narrative, Sapphire-the-welfare-queen emerged as "an urban, black, teenage mother, who continually has children to increase her benefits and who just lies around all day in public housing waiting for her check to come."<sup>68</sup> "Welfare queen," in the words of cultural critic Wahneema Lubiano, "is a phrase that describes economic dependency—the lack of a job and/or income (which equals degeneracy in the Calvinist United States); the presence of a child or children with no father and/or husband (moral deviance); and, finally, a charge on the collective U.S. treasury—a human debit."<sup>69</sup>

White conservatives derived the basic assumptions of this perspective about Black women and their role in the family from the now-infamous 1965 Moynihan Report. His report for the U.S. Department of Labor, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," identified Black matriarchy, as opposed to White racism, as the principal obstacle for African Americans in obtaining full equality.<sup>70</sup> The version of the Black cultural pathology narrative put forth by the Reagan administration made explicit the assumption of moral depravity only implied in the Moynihan Report. Whereas the Moynihan Report prefaced its diagnosis of Black cultural pathology with a discussion of slavery as the source of the initial crisis of the Black family,<sup>71</sup> Reagan fingered social assistance itself, as well as the misplaced priorities of the Black poor, as the source of the problem. The rhetoric of Reagan conservatives openly assaulted the character of young Black teenage mothers. And Reagan conservatives built on Moynihan's legacy by constructing in the minds of most Americans a particular personality (i.e., the Black Welfare Queen) attached to the culture of poverty associated with welfare. Thus, although the intense criticism and scholarly response to the Moynihan Report left its chief architect with an ignominious reputation in some circles that has dogged him for more than three decades, his perspective on the Black family and the politics it implicitly supported ultimately triumphed in public policy and debate.

As Angela Davis, Ange-Marie Hancock, Julia Jordan-Zachery, Robin Kelley, Barbara Ransby, and others have shown, this wildly distorted representation of family welfare recipients channeled public resentment at social welfare spending and economic anxiety.<sup>72</sup> The image of the Black Welfare Queen was important because it gave the

U.S. citizenry, and most especially Whites, a public face upon which to assign the blame. Of all the family welfare programs, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (the now defunct program commonly known as AFDC), became the focal point for public outrage. Kenneth J. Neubeck correctly observes, "Many found AFDC to be a reliable lightening rod for all manner of public dissatisfactions and did not hesitate to denounce welfare and its recipients in their quest for voter support."<sup>73</sup> Many people believed stereotypes about Black women on welfare being "lazy, immoral, dishonest, and promiscuous," as Neubeck notes, and "Political elites played on such racist stereotypes by subtly portraying AFDC as a 'black problem,' conveniently ignoring the fact that large numbers of whites were also on the AFDC rolls."<sup>74</sup> Given the attacks on AFDC, the Black cultural pathology narrative consistently directed public attention toward the microstructure of the Black family. The BCPP as a metanarrative fixed public attention on Black families and the Black women who led them to a destructive end. In addition to displacing public discourse about macro-structural political and economic issues, the BCPP and the conception of the Black community on which it is based served as a negative touchstone through which White political elites reaffirmed a sense of national values and community.<sup>75</sup>

Within the BCPP, the Black community, and more specifically the Black underclass, stands as the prototype for the community-gone-awry.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, the destruction of Black communities is said to have presaged the demise of the family society-wide. Moynihan declares, "the instability in the 'dark ghettos' that we picked up on our radar [in an earlier era] now has spread to the majority community. Family stability and dependency are much more general issues, even if American politics is just now focusing on minorities."<sup>77</sup> Figured as the repository of the social ills of modern-day society, the Black underclass, situated in the inner city, is crime driven, drug crazed, and over-run with immorality. It is another world that must literally be contained—socially, physically, and economically. But, the inner city is not only a storehouse of corruption and chaos, a world turned upside down by women in power, it is the crucible for everything that threatens the security of the nation. Ansell explains:

Many controversies at the center of political debate today—immigration, affirmative action, law and order, welfare, multiculturalism, traditional/family values—invoke race as a kind of index of the disintegration of the social order. Ostensibly non-racial issues such as those listed above, linked as they are to other racially coded frames such as the deterioration

of inner cities, bloated government, a culture of dependency, sexual licentiousness, and so on, become condensation symbols for the concern over national identity, economic vitality, and even cultural survival. Race serves as an ideological conductor for populist anxiety that the national "way of life" is coming apart at the seams, and also helps bolster the credibility and power of those who promise to put it back together again.<sup>78</sup>

Conservatives, in their projection of the pathological Black underclass community, identify said community as the primary source of the nation's socioeconomic and political malaise and decline and as the mark of what must be avoided and rehabilitated to secure the future of the nation.<sup>79</sup> The cultural pathology of Black Americans thus has become a symbol for what has gone wrong with America. In the morality play at work in the discourse around Black cultural pathology, conservatives defined the appropriate moral standards for family and citizenship in negative relation to constructed notions of Black underclass community.

Amazingly, the gender politics of the BCPP provided the central basis for mainstream White American nationalism and it also served as the same ideological ground for the development of Black nationalist discourse. In addition to scholars and political commentators, the most vocal and active proponents of the BCPP were Black cultural nationalists. Black nationalists provided the strongest support for a focus on Black male endangerment, arguing in books, speeches, and the media that the most pressing challenge confronting Black Americans was the crisis of the Black male. Some, such as Jawanzaa Kunjufu, an educational consultant closely associated with Endangered Black Male discourse, revived genetically based arguments (what Wallace identified as the threat of the Black penis) to explain what he called the "conspiracy to destroy black boys."<sup>80</sup> According to Kunjufu, the larger society, including Black women, was set on undermining the Black male.<sup>81</sup> Drawing on Frances Cress Welsing's popular Black nationalist text, *The Isis Papers*, Kunjufu argued that Whites were "fearful" of Black domination via interracial sexual unions, and were moving to disassemble the threat of "genetic annihilation."<sup>82</sup> Because Black men were critical in the genetic process, he averred, they were targets for state repression. Kunjufu also directly attacked women for rearing irresponsible men. Kunjufu states: "Black mothers tend to raise their daughters and love their sons. . . . They teach their daughters to be responsible and not their sons." <sup>83</sup> Others, such as Nathan and Julia Hare, focused on the role of the

feminist movement in disassembling Black families. In their book, *The Endangered Black Family*, the Hares lambasted the women's movement for injecting alien ideas into Black political discourse.<sup>84</sup> The Hares argued that the focus on women's issues and women's advancement undermined the role of the man in the home.

Like Kunjufu and others, Farrakhan also believes that Black males are especially endangered, placing the conspiracy against Black boys in the Biblical tradition. Farrakhan outlined his theory of Black male endangerment in an address to the Malcolm X Academy in Chicago, Illinois, entitled "The Plight of the Black Male." Drawing on the Biblical Exodus narrative, he argues that just as Pharaoh feared that the children of Israel would multiply, joining with Pharaoh's enemies in battle against Egypt, so does White America fear the demographic growth of the Black population. Just like Pharaoh, America has decided to "spare the female, and kill the male." He further argues in this speech that it is not an accident that all the jobs in the inner city are criminal or require high levels of skill, or that gangs and guns are proliferating among certain segments of the Black population.<sup>85</sup> It is also not a surprise, as he implies elsewhere, that Black women are employed when men are not, for the hiring of Black women is an easy way to fulfill diversity "requirements."<sup>86</sup> As is typical with narratives of decline emphasis was placed on crisis. The specter of conspiracy raised by Kunjufu and others heightened the sense of urgency and crisis associated with Black male endangerment, and laid the groundwork and constituted a drive for patriarchal macho in Black political discourse.

The focus on Endangered Black Males enjoys wide reception in Black communities, but this emphasis in Black politics is far from benign. Clearly, Black males do in fact confront intense racial oppression. Nevertheless, there are several key reasons why the discourse on Black male endangerment is problematic. First, it suggests that Black women are not affected by racism, or at least not to the same degree as Black men. In this way, it presents a distorted image of the effect of racism and sexism in the lives of Black women. Although the weight and abundance of the statistics repeatedly presented in discussing the Black male crisis seem to speak for themselves, on close inspection the statistical indicators of the crisis of the Black male are not as transparent in their meaning as their wide-scale reception might suggest.

In his analysis of statistical data on school performance for African American youth, for instance, Black political scientist Willie Legette found that "the most troubling disparity is clearly between blacks and whites, not between black males and black females."<sup>87</sup> Legette,

moreover, noted that Black girls, not Black boys, are the group least likely to receive attention or teacher recognition in the classroom.<sup>88</sup> Also, although “the relatively low educational attainment of black men is constantly cited as an indication of the black male crisis,”<sup>89</sup> school dropout rates are significantly different between, but not within, racial groups,<sup>90</sup> suggesting a responsible approach to education policy should focus on Black youth, male and female. Finally, although a decline in college enrollment rates for Black males is often cited as an indication of the Black male crisis, “In only eight of the twenty-six years from 1970 to 1995 did black females have higher college enrollment rates than did black males.”<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, the higher rate of Black female enrollment in recent years is part of a larger shift in higher rates for female enrollment for all races.<sup>92</sup> (Significantly, in developing his analysis Legette drew on key data provided by the Bureau of the Census and the Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics.) Although the social and economic indicators for African American men are troubling, their problems correlate with that of Black females in significant ways and/or suggest other factors besides home rearing as their origin. By misreading statistical data in ways that suggest Black women are faring better under racist systems of oppression, nationalism-inflected public discourse turns toward solutions that are inattentive to the ways in which Black women suffer as well, and are insufficient to meet the economic and social challenges African Americans face.

Significantly, Michele Wallace’s *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* and the flurry of debate it generated anticipated many of these considerations regarding the contemporary version of the BCPP and sexism in the Black community. She noted, as most others did at the time, that Moynihan’s focus on the breakdown of the Black family provided ammunition for those who wanted to limit the fight for racial justice. Commentators on the 1965 report, including Wallace, pointed out that the Report enabled a new, “subtler” form of racism, one that defined the racial question as “the Negro’s Negro Problem.”<sup>93</sup> Moreover, Wallace astutely observed that Moynihan’s report on the Black family presented an incoherent image of the strong Black woman, or the “Superwoman,” in Wallace’s terminology. On the one hand, Black women were viewed as unusually strong, un-feminine, usurpers of the traditional male role in Black families, and heads of households that were in disarray largely because of a hotbed of pathology they created. On the other hand, despite the ravages of poverty and its attendant social ills, the strong Black superwoman was seemingly impervious to the effects of racism and somehow, at times,



prospered under its sway. She writes: "Just as black men were busiest attacking Moynihan, they were equally busy attacking the black woman for being a matriarch. Although no one would admit it, Moynihan had managed to provide authoritative support for something a lot of black men wanted to believe anyway: that the black woman had substantial advantages over the black man educationally, financially, and in employment."<sup>94</sup>

Like Legette, Wallace exposed the faulty statistical artifice upon which claims of Black female success were based. She too demonstrated that disparities were most significant, not between Black men and Black women, but between the Black and White populations. Still, the view that women were better able to negotiate life in a racist society prevailed, although Wallace soundly criticized it. This perspective on the Black Superwoman (that she fared better than men in confronting racism) not only survived the 1960s, but also, as the previous discussion demonstrates, went on to become one of the central tenets of the BCPP and of Black political thought. From this historical perspective, the discourse on Black male endangerment can be seen as a rejoinder to Black women's critique of sexism, one that turns feminist analysis on its head. Where Black women such as Michele Wallace criticized the pursuit of Black macho and stereotypes of the Black superwoman, Black nationalist and popular discourse argued that Black men were the true victims of American racism and, furthermore, that it was Black men who suffered at the hands of emasculating Sapphires. However logically or statistically flawed, the BCPP metanarrative, with its dual images of the Black superwoman as Welfare Queen and the Endangered Black Male as her and society's victim, became the focal point for a cross-racial consensus on what ails Black communities. If the Black man could only ascend to the head of the family, strong, financially secure, and sufficiently macho, Black women and children would be spared the ill effects of Black female dependency on the government's handouts and jobs.

In a logical extension of the assumptions inherent in the BCPP, Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March promised to make good on Eldridge Cleaver's promise—"We shall have our manhood"—by restoring the Black community, both internally and in terms of the larger American political community, by first restoring the Black man to his proper position to exercise of patriarchal control in the Black family. Indeed, despite its use by conservative White and Black nationalists for ostensibly different ends, it was the success of the Black cultural pathology narrative that made possible the 1995 Million Man March. Reading intertextually, we can understand the March-as-text

as emerging from the supertext of the BCPP. It capitalized on the frustrations many had about the worsening political, economic, and social conditions of Blacks, the state of crisis of Black America, in a political March that identified rectifying the failures and ineptitude of Black men as the key to stabilizing and rebuilding “the Black community.” Thus, whereas Whites argued for the re-affirmation and stabilization of national community over and against the desolation and destruction brought on by the Black community, Black nationalists and other Blacks argued for inclusion in the national community by establishing an acceptable moral order within its own. The critical component in stabilizing the Black community lay not in combating racism per se, or in directing demands to government for redress, but in providing an opportunity for Black men to be macho.

## Conclusion

Critics of *Black Macho* doubted that the book would shape the 1980s, as the prominent blurb on the book’s jacket proclaimed. *Black Macho*, the book, certainly proved to be a milestone in Black feminist criticism; the reactions to the book, more than anything, documented and symbolized the challenges to analyzing gender politics in African American communities.

It is interesting to think about how things would have been different had Wallace’s insights, indeed, shaped the 1980s (and 1990s). If political commentators had recognized the mutually constitutive relationship between White American nationalisms and Black nationalisms, they might have been on guard for the ways in which counter discourses, like Black nationalisms, can develop oppositional politics while appropriating a framework for gender politics that subverts the goals of equality and liberation. They might have recognized the Black cultural pathology narrative as the shared ideological ground for a conservative backlash against equality and a Black nationalist resurgence in popular culture. If leaders of Black political organizations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, had read and heeded Wallace’s critique, they could have recognized the focus on Black Welfare Queens and the Black male crisis as components of a refurbished version of the culture of pathology thesis advanced by Moynihan in 1965. If activists and lawyers who fight for racial justice had utilized Wallace’s book and the debate that ensued as an occasion for evaluating the sexual politics at work in popular notions of Black community, they perhaps could have anticipated that pernicious definitions of masculine identity could never

be an optimal basis upon which to fashion a Black political agenda. Had the book's insights directed political inquiry and discourse we might have seen a more wide-scale critique of the Million Man March and the Black cultural pathology narrative from which it was derived.

Unfortunately, contrary to conventional wisdom, hindsight is not always 20/20, at least not for everyone. When people do raise questions about the gender politics of the March, it is generally in terms of a simplistic inclusion/exclusion model. (From this vantage point, the Million Woman March would seem to serve as an answer to the exclusionist elements of the Million Man March.) But, the problematic gender politics of the March go beyond questions about whether women were allowed to attend or participate, and are rooted instead in the problematic Black macho imperative that provided the impetus for the March in the first place. (This is why simply having a Million Woman March cannot serve as a corrective to the Million Man March; they both emerge out of the same gendered ideological framework, that is, the BCPP.)<sup>95</sup>

Of course, though the Million Man March enjoyed support from a broad range of individuals, it met with opposition from committed Black feminists who recognized and critiqued the problematic gender politics of the March. Unlike those who criticized the March simply because it excluded women in the putative fight against racism, others, recognizing the conservative nature of the March's goals, argued that it would undermine the position of women in the home and community and prevent the development of a politics that could challenge the conservative tenor of contemporary political discourse and practice. Feminist scholar bell hooks was a vocal and impassioned critic of the March, describing it as a "celebration of fascist patriarchy."<sup>96</sup>

A group of Black scholars, including, among others Angela Davis, Pearl Cleage, Michelle Wallace, Kimberle Crenshaw, and Barbara Ransby, organized African American Agenda 2000, an organization committed to challenging the politics of the March.<sup>97</sup> In an article entitled "Farrakhan Considers Jews 'Bloodsuckers': Remarks Taint March's Goal" published in the *Times Picayune*, Louis Freedberg quotes Angela Davis, former member of the Black Panther Party and scholar, as stating: "'No march, movement or agenda that defines manhood in the narrowest terms and seeks to make women lesser partners in this quest for equality can be considered a positive step.'"<sup>98</sup> As Davis explains in this same piece, "'There are ways of understanding black masculinity that do not rely on subjugating women.'"<sup>99</sup> Feminist historian Barbara Ransby echoed these same comments characterizing the March as a "'romanticization of black patriarchy.'"<sup>100</sup>

The group highlighted the sexist politics driving the March in their criticism; they also criticized other aspects. Paula Giddings, feminist historian and author of *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*, pointed out that the March was also objectionable because of Farrakhan's hostility toward homosexuals, Christian ministers, and the Jewish community.<sup>101</sup> These criticisms, particularly those that identify the connection between the March's patriarchal politics and that of mainstream White conservatism, resonate profoundly with those presented by Michele Wallace in *Black Macho*.<sup>102</sup>

Despite the valiant efforts of these Black feminists, however, the broad support for the March has further marginalized Black women and those committed to advocating for their economic and political advancement. Indeed, as the response to Wallace's *Black Macho* demonstrates, antisexist politics have never been greeted with a warm reception by either Black political elites or Blacks more generally. In fact, almost a third of Blacks see Black feminism as "dangerous to the black community," according to a study by Black political scientist Michael Dawson.<sup>103</sup> A few commentators asserted that complaints of sexism were hypocritical, given that women have often convened to the exclusion of men. George E. Curry, then editor-in-chief of *Emerge Magazine*, for example, commented that he found it ironic that those who criticized the March because it would lead to Black male-female "disunity" were themselves sowing division by making "the round of talk shows to voice their displeasure."<sup>104</sup> As he pointed out, "[M]any of those same critics had recently returned from the United Nations' Conference on Women in Beijing—with no objections from Black men—yet they saw something wrong with an all-male gathering."<sup>105</sup>

After the March those critical of Farrakhan and/or the event met with sharp rebukes at best, and at worst physical threats. Noted Black political commentator and economist Julianne Malveaux, in fact, in addition to receiving harassing calls and public ridicule, also had her car damaged.<sup>106</sup> Sadly, the March was a tangible representation of the nature and proportion of the problem confronting Black feminists, and it not only reflected but also reinforced the sexist politics against which Black feminists have set themselves in opposition. Indeed, as Patricia Hill Collins states: "Voting with their feet by attending in record numbers the 1995 Million Man March on Washington . . . everyday African Americans apparently found the core ideas of this conservative version of Black nationalism more appealing than arguments advanced by well-known Black public intellectuals who opposed the march;" my own examination of survey data derived from Million Man March

participants affirms this view, suggesting strong support for the conservative gender ideology embodied in the Million Man March.<sup>107</sup>

Given that gender politics often form the operating logic of Black nationalisms, it is imperative that feminists continue to examine the gender dynamics with which they are animated, how gendered constructs, norms, and leadership styles shape, limit, and/or direct Black political thought and action. This is especially urgent given that the gender politics of Black nationalisms specifically, and Black political thought more generally, are precisely what demand a response by Black feminists and what sets Black feminisms at odds with Black nationalisms and mainstream Black politics. As the aforementioned discussion of the March demonstrates, for example, although in a different form and within a different political moment, through the BCPP, Black macho and the myth of the superwoman continue to figure prominently in contemporary political discourse.

Critical scholarly attention must be given to the ways in which these images and constructs are rearticulated and redefined in Black political discourse and how they shape and/or limit Black politics both inside and outside the formal political arena. Feminist analysis must keep pace by generating new theories and presenting new strategies particular to this historical and political moment. In this light, though Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* makes a contribution to our understanding of Black Power activism in the 1960s and 1970s in its own right, it is ultimately important as a model of feminist political analysis that assesses both the gender politics of Black nationalisms, and Black nationalisms' relationship to mainstream political discourse.

We must especially take note of the impact of metanarratives, such as the BCPP, on public policy. Black nationalisms, through their role in legitimating and cultivating the BCPP, have had a very real impact on the state. And, it is to a consideration of the framing function of the BCPP on contemporary public policy that I now turn.

## *Chapter 3*

# *The Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm and George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Fatherhood Initiatives*

### **Introduction**

The state remains an important if theoretically and analytically elusive entity. As Margaret Levi has noted, study of the state waxes and wanes out of fashion, but it nevertheless remains an important element of political analysis because “[T]he State” captures the combination of centralized, far-reaching coercion with the complex of staff, governmental institutions, and nongovernmental actors and agencies in a way that nothing else seems to.”<sup>1</sup> Although feminists have studied the gendered nature of the state and the pitfalls of feminist engagement thereof, relatively little attention has been given to the inherently racial character of the modern state, with most analyses focusing on “obvious, extreme, and so seemingly exceptional cases like Nazi Germany or South Africa or the segregationist South in the US (cf. Burleigh and Wippermann 1991; Solomos and Back 1996: 49–52).”<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to this chapter, I survey some of the primary approaches to thinking about the racial state, on the one hand, and feminists’ perspectives on Black nationalisms’ relationship to the state, on the other, noting my own point of view on analyzing Black nationalisms’ relationship to the state, recounting key terms that I will use throughout this discussion, and then providing an overview of my treatment of the BCPP and George W. Bush’s Faith-Based and Fatherhood Initiatives (FBI and FI) for the remainder of the chapter.

Increasingly, some scholars have worked to elaborate a theory of the modern racial state in general, and the U.S. racial state in particular. Most notably, in their foundational work, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, Omi and Winant argue that ethnicity, class, and nationalism provide insufficient frames for

understanding race, and outline a “theory of racial formation” that foregrounds race in the development of state politics.<sup>3</sup> As they assert: “[T]he state *is* inherently racial. Far from *intervening* in racial conflicts, the state is itself increasingly the pre-eminent site of racial conflict” (emphasis in original).<sup>4</sup> They see the micro-politics of identity formation and “everyday life” and the macro-politics of government, economics, and civil society as linked,<sup>5</sup> and maintain that the racial politics of the state are altered through contestation by racial social movements of varying ideological orientations.<sup>6</sup> “Through *policies* which are explicitly or implicitly racial, state institutions organize and enforce the racial politics of everyday life” (emphasis in original).<sup>7</sup> They see gender and other elements of identity as important, but their analysis does not centrally deal with the constitutive nature of identity. Understanding how the boundaries of race, class, and gender are relationally produced provides a more expansive understanding of how race operates.

In his important study, aptly titled *The Racial State*, David Theo Goldberg also argues that race is a constituent element of the modern state, so that it is possible to speak both of “racial states and racist states.”<sup>8</sup> For Goldberg, the state is neither autonomous, that is, easily distinguishable from civil society, the public sphere, or the economy, nor epiphenomenal, that is “a reflection and so effect of deeper underlying determinations (like the mode of production, class relations, or the economy).”<sup>9</sup> Instead, “[T]he state is inherently contradictory and internally fractured, consisting not only of agencies and bureaucracies, legislatures and courts, but also of norms and principles, individuals and institutions.”<sup>10</sup> What makes the state coherent and identifiable, according to Goldberg, are its “state *projects*[,] underpinned and rationalized by a self-represented history as state memory; and as state *power(s)*” (emphasis in original).<sup>11</sup> It is the power of the state that is its key feature. Importantly, moreover, the state is not only raced, but also gendered. For Goldberg, “Bodies are governed, colonially and post-colonially, through their constitutive positioning as racially engendered and in the gendering of their racial configuration.”<sup>12</sup> Goldberg masterfully traces the racial character of modern states. His work discusses and is relevant to, but does not fully elaborate a view of the mutually constitutive nature of race and gender in his analysis of the state.

Whereas these and other scholars have productively initiated an exploration of the U.S. and/or modern racial state, Black feminists have discussed the relationship between the state and Black nationalisms. Previous feminist work has noted that Black nationalisms both challenge and at times affirm the racial, gender, and class politics of

the state, but most commentators stop short of examining Black nationalisms' role in influencing the state and/or focus on Black nationalisms' state-like operation within the logic of its own theory and politics. As detailed in previous chapters, scholars such as E. Frances White and Patricia Hill Collins highlight that although Black nationalisms challenge the state in very powerful ways, they often undermine the radicalness of their politics by adopting contemporary gender norms.<sup>13</sup> A middle-class "ideology of respectability," according to White, moreover, marks these gender norms in the contemporary context.<sup>14</sup> As she points out, however, there can be no easy equation between Black and White American nationalisms: Black nationalisms do not wield the power of the state.<sup>15</sup>

Relatedly, cultural critic Wahneema Lubiano makes the same general point, arguing that Black nationalisms both challenge and affirm the state in some ways, but focuses as well on the state-like function of Black nationalism.<sup>16</sup> Following political scientist Timothy Mitchell, Lubiano sees the state as more than governmental bodies and well-positioned rulemakers, but as " 'common ideological and cultural construct[s]' " that not only influence perspectives and world-views but are present in " 'visible everyday forms.' " <sup>17</sup> Its parameters are flexible and difficult to discern.<sup>18</sup> Lubiano argues that Black nationalism "stands in for," that is, performs the same work as the state. In the same way that the state produces a commonplace model of the appropriate member of national community (i.e., a national subject), so too do Black nationalisms produce their own version of an idealized group member, that is, a "nonstate, romanticized subject."<sup>19</sup>

My own work utilizes a Black feminist frame of reference that focuses on how the deployment of narratives is critical to shaping political discourse and influencing the state via public policy. Like Black feminist political scientists Eudine Barriteau and Julia Jordan-Zachery, I grapple with explaining how the ideology of the Black male crisis impacts the state.<sup>20</sup> I build on theories of the U.S. racial state and Black feminist writings on the gender and racial politics of Black nationalism by exploring how, through the legitimation and circulation of political narratives, Black nationalism can become ideologically complicit in state projects and, therefore, wield the power of the state. Like others writing in the postpositivist, post-empiricist tradition, I utilize a definition of power that does not discount traditional ideas of power as group domination through formal politics and economics, but also captures the importance of narratives—like the one embodied in the BCPP—to the social construction of reality, the development of ideology, and the formation of public policy.<sup>21</sup> Narratives are key to hegemonic power.



This is why an analysis of the deployment of such narratives is especially important. Adopting a Black feminist frame of reference in exploring narratives allows one to see the broader dimensions of the state as a site of not only racial conflict, but racial conflict that is defined through the boundaries of gender and class.

Utilizing a Black feminist frame of reference that focuses on narrative allows us to understand the racial conflict surrounding particular policy efforts, such as Welfare Reform, for instance, not as simply having different implications for those with particular race or class statuses, but as being in fact driven by stories of decline that feature villains, victims, and racialized and classed understandings of masculinity and femininity. As I explained in chapter 2, White nationalism in the contemporary era has taken shape around a story of national decline that looks to the breakdown in Black families as the source of the country's problems. Working to counteract the threat presented by Black communities gone wild has been the lynchpin of White nationalism for the conservative Right, with the point of emphasis being the Black Welfare Queen. This same story of decline, represented in the BCPP, has also served as the basis for the development of Black nationalisms in the contemporary era. It focuses on the emasculating, hypersexual image of the Welfare Queen, but also the Endangered Black Male.

More specifically, the Black feminist frame of reference and narrative analysis I utilize exposes the cult of wounded masculinity to which Black and White nationalisms have responded in the contemporary era.<sup>22</sup> Mainstream emphasis on the family and family values registers as a response to the anxiety caused by the introduction of middle-class White women into the workforce in the mid-twentieth century and to the Second Wave feminist movement more generally.<sup>23</sup> This reaction was preceded of course by the Moynihan Report's derogation of Black male-female gender roles and Black family structure. Indeed, we can find an emphasis on wounded Black masculinity in much of the Black Power literature (e.g., essays, books, and political statements) of the 1960s and 1970s. In this light, discussions of Black family breakdown and Black male endangerment in contemporary political discourse are an amplification of 1960s and 1970s Black nationalism's emphasis on the Black male. This focus on moral rehabilitation through restoring the family and assuaging wounded masculinity assumed various guises over time, finding its way into discussions about welfare and family values, providing the logic for men's movements such as the Promise Keepers, a national Christian-based organization designed to restore men to patriarchal roles in the family, the Million Man March, and

later the fatherhood movement, which I discuss later in this chapter. Men of different racial and class backgrounds may at times have different priorities that reflect their particular relationship to the state (white men in the fatherhood movement may be less concerned about job access and other structural issues, for instance). The BCPP as a metanarrative or supertext is widely supported across race and class, facilitating shifting frames for affirming middle-class respectability through moral uplift, and restoring patriarchal manhood and traditional family formations.

In this chapter I argue that the BCPP—a metanarrative legitimized and produced by both Black and White nationalists—provides the basis for President George W. Bush’s FBI and FI. Here, I further apply different components of the theory of narrative analysis, particularly regarding framing, discussed in chapter 1, namely: frame shifting, the action frame, and inter/intratextuality. Frame shifting occurs on two, corresponding levels. At the narrative level, supertexts like the BCPP contain elements or flashpoints that may be emphasized in political discourse at different times. At the social movement and policy levels, frame shifting occurs when specific packaging of organizing or policy changes over time. In addition to frame shifting, it is important to note that the BCPP is a rhetorical frame that builds consensus and support, as well as being a pliable action frame, that is, a narrative structure facilitating public policy. Finally, applying and expanding on the work of Judylyn Ryan, I emphasize the need to read the BCPP supertext intertextually and intratextually. Reading intertextually, that is from the text of these policy initiatives to the supertext of the BCPP, we can see a linkage between the goals and focus of the initiatives, on the one hand, and the assumptions of Black family crisis as well as the concomitant call for moral rehabilitation and promotion of the self-help ideology associated with the BCPP, on the other. Reading intratextually, that is, between constituent elements within the supertext of the BCPP, we can see these seemingly disparate policy efforts concerning faith and fatherhood as touching on different elements or flash points of the BCPP. These initiatives, then, are a means of furthering the practical implementation of a White nationalist agenda embodied in the BCPP. Yet, at the same time, they also further affirm the BCPP as a legitimate frame for Black politics within Black communities and generate, to borrow Lubiano’s language, “a nonstate, romanticized subject.”<sup>24</sup>

In developing this argument about the symbiotic relationship Black and White nationalisms share through the BCPP, I first review the backdrop for Bush’s initiatives, namely the changes in family welfare

that occurred with the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. After this brief review, I discuss Bush's version of the BCPP, Compassionate Conservatism, as articulated through some of his key advisors, and then go on to demonstrate how these initiatives stem from the BCPP. I end with a consideration of the implications of Bush's initiatives for a social justice agenda and the legacy of civil rights for Blacks and the implications of the BCPP for our understanding of Black ideology.

### **Black Macho in Public Policy—The BCPP and Bush's Compassionate Conservatism in the Production of Contemporary Social Policy**

Though George W. Bush's initiatives are far-reaching in terms of their potential to realign Black votes and support undemocratic self-help ideology, his cultural interpretations of poverty that inform such initiatives build on over twenty-five years of political debate. Indeed, as highlighted in chapter 2, by the mid-1990s, because of the Ronald Reagan and George Bush presidencies, the presumed tyranny of the Black Welfare Queen over the public purse and the crisis of the Endangered Black Male had already become firmly established as salient issues in political discourse. The Million Man March symbolized the triumph of Black nationalism-inflected discourses surrounding self-help, the decline of the Black family, and Black male endangerment in Black communities. The first and farthest reaching policy outcome of the BCPP would soon follow a year later in 1996 with the dismantling of the country's system of family welfare provision. In an interesting parallel to Black nationalist Booker T. Washington's infamous 1895 Atlanta Compromise speech, which anointed the political retrenchment of the post-Reconstruction era—a retrenchment that was sealed by *Plessy v. Ferguson* a year later in 1896, Black nationalist Louis Farrakhan's 1995 Million Man March symbolized the accommodationist, self-help ethos of the BCPP the year before this sea change in the American welfare system.<sup>25</sup>

Notably, though the groundwork for this dramatic alteration in U.S. public policy was laid in the Reagan and Bush administrations, it would come to fruition during a Democratic presidency under Bill Clinton. Indeed, the fact that a Democratic president could finalize the vision for social welfare initiated by the Republican Right speaks to

the success of the hegemonic project of U.S. conservatives.<sup>26</sup> As policy analysts and political commentators have noted, under the twelve years of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, conservative themes and attitudes about big government and social spending set the terms of engagement along the political spectrum. Black political scientist Adolph Reed, Jr. aptly explains that a neoliberal orthodoxy emerged which, in an effort to appeal to majoritarian sentiments, extolled the virtues of responsibility, “a subtly coded proxy for a more familiar racial discourse that centers on rejection of the pursuit of racial equality.”<sup>27</sup> And, as Sanford Schram points out in *Words of Welfare*, liberals accepted the terms of debate laid out by conservatives, and, in doing so, lost significant ground in the struggle to win popular support.<sup>28</sup> At best, liberal efforts at engaging conservatives resulted in damage control.

As its name suggests, the landmark Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 (also known as Welfare Reform) responded to the key assumptions of the BCPP narrative and is evidence of how the BCPP can serve not only as a rhetorical frame that garners support, but an action frame in the implementation of public policy. Designed to alleviate the putative problems of welfare dependency, the PRWORA ended Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and created Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), a state-administered block grant program. The key aspects of the Act responded to assumptions of Black cultural pathology concerning illegitimacy, poor work ethics, and a cycle of generational poverty. More specifically, the Act required that family welfare recipients receive benefits for no “more than two consecutive years or five cumulative years.”<sup>29</sup> Similarly, single recipients could receive assistance for two consecutive years, but such assistance was contingent upon recipients looking or training for a job.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, teenagers received assistance only if attending school, and families did not receive assistance if they had adults who did not fulfill their child support obligations.<sup>31</sup> Taken together, these and other requirements of the PRWORA attempt not only to shore up a two-parent, patriarchal family model, but to rehabilitate the perceived moral dysfunctions of Black mothers and families. More pointedly, the PRWORA was designed to assault the reign of tyranny by Welfare Queens.

The legislation was passed because of the power of the mythology around Black Welfare Queens and the breakdown of the Black family. The work of Black feminist political scientists Julia Jordan-Zachery and Ange-Marie Hancock also establishes this essential connection. As Jordan-Zachery explains, “The image of a promiscuous, unfit, and

generally speaking deviant black woman is the foundation of PRWORA.”<sup>32</sup> She maintains that the act was designed to supplant the “‘bad’ black mother” endangering Black men and communities. “It appears,” writes Jordan-Zachery, “that PRWORA attempts to reverse the effect of Mammy, Jezebel and so on—the ‘bad’ black mother—who has emasculated the black man.”<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, in *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*, Ange-Marie Hancock exposes the ways in which the public identity of the welfare queen and the politics of disgust in which it is situated animate political discourse, news media, and Congressional discourse surrounding PRWORA. Specifically, Hancock delineates four defining characteristics for the politics of disgust, namely a “perversion of democratic attention” in which some subjects’ claims are not given adequate or full consideration in democratic processes, the domination of communication among citizens by elites, particularly via the media, the theory-driven or “‘representative thinking’” of the American public, and a lack of solidarity between would-be allies within and outside target populations.<sup>34</sup>

The politics of disgust, she avers, drives our public image of Black women receiving public assistance and enables a denial of full democratic participation for Black women and communities. According to Hancock, associations such as “Don’t Work, Overly Fertile, Teen Mothers, Illegitimacy, Single-Parent Family, Crime, and Culture of Poverty” are present in the news media and Congressional deliberation data sets she used to analyze the public identity of the Welfare Queen.<sup>35</sup> The term “culture of poverty,” though important to both data sets, was particularly prevalent in Congressional discourse and was “most frequently associated with *Cross-Generation Dependency* (10 text units) . . . followed by *Don’t Work* (9 text units) and *Illegitimacy* (7 text units)” in “overlapping text unit codes” between data sets.<sup>36</sup> The results of Hancock’s analysis relate a “strong relationship” between the Welfare Queen public identity and policy options considered with PRWORA.<sup>37</sup> The image of the Welfare Queen and the assumptions of the BCPP, then, were instrumental in the public and congressional discourse surrounding PRWORA. Tellingly, in recognition of the racial implications of the Act, President Clinton was sure to have several Black, “reformed” (former) welfare mothers standing at his back when he signed the bill into law.

The changes in the welfare system have had predictably negative consequences for the poor. Proponents point to reductions on the

welfare rolls and poverty as signs of the Act's success.<sup>38</sup> Others, however, are less sanguine about the results. It is unclear that reductions in poverty levels in the years following passage of the Act are a result of the policy changes, as opposed to the general growth of the economy during those years.<sup>39</sup> According to Black political scientist James Jennings, "The overall reduction in welfare caseloads can be attributed, in part, to significant economic growth in the United States since 1995 rather than the exclusive effects of welfare reform. This claim is supported by the fact that caseloads started to decline *before* the enactment of welfare reform at the national and state levels . . ." (emphasis in original).<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, since "monthly maximum AFDC/TANF benefits declined by 18 percent for the median state after adjusting for inflation" between 1995 and 2003, single mothers opted for jobs that would provide them a better economic situation when opportunities arose; moving from welfare to work in times of better job availability is a pattern that preceded the PRWORA.<sup>41</sup> These reductions in welfare rolls, moreover, also reflect the penalties associated with welfare reform enforcement.<sup>42</sup>

Though it is true that rolls have been reduced, this has not supported the economic stability or overall life condition of poor families. Many women are underemployed and/or have been kicked off of assistance. Also, although the United States endured an economic recession between 2001 and 2003 and a "jobless recovery" that began in 2004, causing poverty levels to rise, TANF rolls actually decreased during this time period.<sup>43</sup> Remarkably, there was no increase in the TANF rolls, even though the number of impoverished female-headed, single-parent households jumped from 10.9 million to 12.4 million between 2000 and 2003.<sup>44</sup> This is a sharp departure from AFDC, where AFDC enrollment increased during times of economic drought.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, women leaving TANF tend to have low-income jobs and less assurance of health coverage.<sup>46</sup> In fact, the Urban Institute calculates that, because of Welfare Reform, 925,000 adults and over 1.5 million children were denied Medicaid.<sup>47</sup>

George W. Bush would enter office positioned to lay claim to this important groundwork in public policy. He would refine and further implement policies based on his own rendition of the BCPP. In the following section, I discuss the views of some of Bush's advisors, advisors who are key architects of Compassionate Conservatism, Bush's moniker for a perspective grounded in the assumptions of the BCPP.

## Implementing Compassionate Conservatism: Bush's Policies for Black Communities and Families

### *Overview*

Since the outset of his first administration, George W. Bush has promoted additional public policy stemming from the BCPP, focused on shoring up moral standards in needy communities, in general, and bolstering fatherhood, specifically. Notably, these foci also conform directly to the findings set out in support of PRWORA, which labeled marriage as an essential institution, sought to promote “responsible fatherhood and motherhood,” and contained provisions for charitable choice, the basis of the FBI.<sup>48</sup> It is true that these various proposals affect non-Black families and populations. As my analysis below suggests, nevertheless, shoring up the morality of Blacks and restoring the place of Black men in the home remains a special emphasis for the Bush administration. As I discuss later in this chapter, the FBI and FI emanated directly from the BCPP and took shape under the umbrella of Compassionate Conservatism, a term used to describe an ostensibly benevolent, morality-based care or compassion for the poor.

Importantly in this regard, Karl Rove, Bush's closest advisor, has long served as Bush's “intellectual mentor,” introducing him to a community of conservative scholars whose work would eventually provide the political framing for Bush's FBI and FI.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, while Bush was still governor of Texas, Rove introduced him to Marvin Olasky, Myron Magnet, and Stephen Goldsmith, among others, scholars and politicians who elaborated a solution to poverty that averted macro-political concerns for micro-political analyses that focused on cultural breakdown as the cause of poverty and other social ills and moral development (particularly of the conservative religious kind) as its remedy.

Marvin Olasky, a well-known conservative scholar, is perhaps the most influential thinker associated with Compassionate Conservative social policy in general and the FBI policy in particular. His book, *The Tragedy of Compassion*, had a profound influence on Washington conservatives. As Jo Renee Formicola relates, Olasky counseled George W. Bush in his first Texas gubernatorial campaign.<sup>50</sup> His book was circulated among key political figures, including then Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, who provided a copy to new Republican Congressmen.<sup>51</sup> As Formicola points out, “[I]t is easy to see how

Olasky's book had an impact on the Welfare Reform Act of 1996," and, indeed, Olasky took a leave from the University of Texas to work on the Charitable Choice portion of the 1996 welfare legislation.<sup>52</sup>

One can see the philosophical blueprint behind Bush's FBI and FI in Olasky's book, *The Tragedy of Compassion*, which argues for an "early American" model of compassionate charity in which members of society offer assistance to the poor according to "colonial theological understanding."<sup>53</sup> This early American model suggested, among other things, that those who were truly needy and deserving, that is, those who were poor through no fault of their own, should receive care and direction.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, compassion was best expressed through individuals in community, not through government largesse. Within this framework, poverty was the proper result and punishment for those given to indolence.<sup>55</sup> Olasky argues that how societies fashion understandings about caring for the poor is a reflection of their understanding of God, and, since the God of early Americans was a God of "mercy," but also of "justice," compassionate acts should reflect these two basic characteristics.<sup>56</sup> As he relays, "Since justice meant punishment for wrongdoing, it was right for the slothful to suffer. And since mercy meant rapid response when people turned away from past practice, malign neglect of those willing to shape up also was wrong."<sup>57</sup> In our country's formative years, Olasky explains, "it was considered right to place sinners in the hands of a challenging economy."<sup>58</sup> These ideas about poverty being the result of slothfulness, derived from conservative theological understandings of the Bible, would provide the basis for Bush's FBI.

Government entitlements, moreover, according to Olasky, absolved the poor of personal responsibility for their lots and undermined the expression of true compassion. The "entitlement revolution," more specifically, undercut marriage, made it difficult for groups practicing true compassion for the deserving poor to operate, and short-circuited the desire to climb the ladder of success.<sup>59</sup> The success of Asian and Cuban immigrants demonstrated that hard work was still the only requirement for economic fulfillment, he averred, stating, "Those who adopted the traditional work-hard-and-rise pattern by staying out of the welfare system usually succeeded in rising—but native born Americans who took advantage of the proffered liberality stayed put."<sup>60</sup> Implicitly invoking a reference to the Civil Rights movement and King's famed "I Have a Dream" speech, Olasky laments: "one by one the dreams of the 1960s died during the 1970s."<sup>61</sup>

He argued, moreover, that the poverty programs of the 1960s generated a cultural devolution. Whereas early U.S. settlers set about



beating back the “wilderness” in which America was set, transforming the environment into landscapes of care and progress, the twentieth century witnessed a return to the wilderness. Olasky suggests that “a wide ocean separates many urban areas from the civilization left behind. Interestingly, those charged with assaulting the ‘Central Park jogger’ acknowledged that on that occasion they were ‘wilding’—wilding, the natural sport of wilderness returned.”<sup>62</sup> From this perspective, reshaping attitudes among the urban poor and restoring males to the head of the family through promotion of fatherhood would be a natural antidote to the cultural malaise and family dissolution since the 1960s.

Whereas Olasky advocated for Compassionate Conservatism by directly tapping into conservative ideologies, Myron Magnet argued more circuitously that, in the 1960s and 1970s, a counterrevolution led by a “liberal, left-of-center elite” undermined the morals necessary for the poor to succeed. According to Formicola, Karl Rove recommended Magnet’s book, *The Dream and the Nightmare*, to Bush, who later stated that it clarified his thinking about culture and how it could be transformed.<sup>63</sup> In *The Dream and the Nightmare*, Magnet suggests that poverty today is a result of a misdirected pursuit of democracy, fueled by the Civil Rights movement, that sought liberation through, among other things, “the War on Poverty, welfare benefit increases, court-ordered school busing, more public housing projects, affirmative action, job-training programs, [and] drug treatment programs . . .”<sup>64</sup> This emphasis was accompanied and produced by a cultural and sexual revolution that resisted conventional standards of morality, restraint, and industry, in lieu of a search for self-actualization.<sup>65</sup> For Magnet, this revolution deprived the poor of the values that traditionally lead to success in the United States, and they were, therefore, ill-positioned to reap the benefits of the Civil Rights movement.<sup>66</sup>

The erosion of values brought on by this counterrevolution produced an underclass, occupied mostly by minorities, who were trapped in a cycle of poverty in which they transmitted values that kept them impoverished and uncivilized. Using language that directly invokes the BCPP, Magnet argued that “Both liberals and conservatives often resist seeing culture as a central cause of underclass poverty and pathology.”<sup>67</sup> Magnet more fully contributed to the perception of the underclass as helpless subjects lacking the moral agency and cultural tutelage to succeed in U.S. society, arguing that the “cultural inheritance” necessary to be “fully humanized” is simply not “transmitted” to the underclass.<sup>68</sup> Members of the underclass were withheld the cultural grounding by which they could be civilized.<sup>69</sup> Magnet,

moreover, further demonstrated the extent to which he saw the poor in general and Blacks specifically as infantilized when he suggested they “are also poor in basic knowledge and in the skills of reasoning, analysis, and judgment needed to master the world.”<sup>70</sup> Directly invoking the work of Black psychologist Kenneth Clark, he states that members of the underclass are “shackled in poverty and dependence” by “a ‘self-perpetuating pathology’—chronic lawlessness, drug use, out-of-wedlock births, nonwork, welfare dependency, and school failure.”<sup>71</sup> Magnet distinguishes his formulation from the “culture of poverty” thesis advanced by those such as Michael Harrington or Oscar Lewis, which suggested that the ravages of urban poverty generated “defeatist expectations.”<sup>72</sup> His working assumption, then, is that the counterrevolution of the 1960s and the 1970s conveyed the wrong values to the poor and the right value system is all that is needed for success.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to Olasky and Magnet, Stephen Goldsmith, a former prosecutor and one-time mayor of Indianapolis, heavily influenced Bush’s thinking about social welfare and faith-based organizations. For Goldsmith, typical approaches to urban decline, such as increases in welfare benefits or increases in taxes, are unfruitful.<sup>74</sup> As a prosecutor, he saw firsthand the inefficiency of the welfare system.<sup>75</sup> Welfare mothers were given disincentives to work: their benefits were cut if they secured employment.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, welfare “created a culture” where it “paid” to have children out-of-wedlock and where fathers were deemed unimportant.<sup>77</sup> He concluded: “The state had created dependency and undermined the very values it purported to champion.”<sup>78</sup>

For Goldsmith, faith in government produced a range of social ills. Faith in individuals and communities to re-tool the culture of America’s poor could be a real solution.<sup>79</sup> As he explains, “Social pathologies are best confronted not by large programs administered by professionals, but by citizens actively engaged in making their communities safer, healthier, more compassionate, and more productive. Government’s role is to support these citizens and help them succeed.”<sup>80</sup> In “empowering” people to build and take responsibility for neighborhoods, Goldsmith enlisted the assistance of faith-based and community organizations, core participants of civil society that were cast out of the limelight and not recognized as significant because of the energy directed toward the failed Great Society programs.<sup>81</sup> These faith-based and community organizations, he argued, could do a better job of instilling the moral sensibility necessary for “personal responsibility.”<sup>82</sup> Compassionate Conservatism, then, according to Goldsmith, should

cede more control to state and local government and make room for community and faith-based organizations.<sup>83</sup> Goldsmith was the domestic Policy Advisor for Bush's first campaign for president and assisted him in formulating the FBI.<sup>84</sup>

There are several ways in which Olasky, Magnet, and Goldsmith's formulations fall in line with the BCPP. First, as with other articulations of the BCPP metanarrative, each of these theorists see Blacks and the poor in general as lacking in key values to sustain success according to American standards, and, therefore, as existing outside of the cultural norm. Second, each directly or indirectly positions Blacks as the locus of national disorder. In this way, Blacks serve as the constitutive outside, the counterpoint against which national norms of decency and normalcy are established. Even though Magnet, for instance, fingers a leftist counterrevolution as the source of U.S. problems, he in fact blames Blacks for this as well, stating directly that this counterrevolution embodied the moral looseness associated with Black culture.<sup>85</sup> Third, each of them decries a decline from a previously better time, whether beginning from the start of the Republic or immediately before the Civil Rights revolution. This corresponds with the narratives of crisis and decline and control and helplessness, narratives Stone indicates as two popular policy frames, which are typically embodied in the BCPP. Notably, they all mark this decline as emanating from the political context surrounding the Civil Rights movement, suggesting that their critiques are a response to this problematic turn. Finally, they each suggest a seemingly helpless situation is now open to control through advocating an undemocratic form of self-help politics. With this self-help politics, focus is placed on transference of responsibility to local and state entities, and ultimately onto individuals.

These articulations of the BCPP utilize several frame shifting strategies. First, they utilize frame amplification through invoking concepts, such as compassion, responsibility, empowerment, wilderness, and neighborhoods that will resonate with people's existing values and beliefs. As social movement theorists have shown, one way in which groups work for frame alignment or support is by framing their politics in ways that tap into values that are tied into beliefs. Compassion, responsibility, and empowerment are strong goals that people would want to work toward, just as the wilderness would have to once again be subdued to protect neighborhoods and the communities they house. Second, articulations of the BCPP also shift in terms of frame extension by inviting traditional, race-based readings of Christian doctrine and supporting faith-based and community organizations as part of the solution for seemingly intractable problems. Utilizing the language

of faith and fatherhood, Compassionate Conservatism, as I will show below in terms of the FBI, creates frame alignment and support for policies through frame extension.

During its first term, the Bush administration met with little legislative success with its FBI and FI, which for many might seem to signal a policy failure in this regard. Importantly, however, as Joel Aberbach has observed, Bush has exercised an “administrative presidency,” that is, an approach to government that uses the broad power of the executive branch, particularly through executive orders and directives to federal agencies, to implement policy.<sup>86</sup> In this regard, Bush has been able to effect significant change, particularly in terms of the FBI, by utilizing the power of the executive office.<sup>87</sup> His policies have further affirmed and practically implemented the BCPP by developing an infrastructure for these various initiatives. In this way, the BCPP, via Bush’s Compassionate Conservatism, has served as an action frame for implementing public policy. Moreover, he has used these policies to effectively gain a mechanism for shifting more Black votes for Republicans, gaining key allegiances with Black ministers and their communities, and, thus, potentially setting the stage for more significant realignment of Black voting in future elections.

### *Faith-Based Efforts*

Bush’s FBI addresses a general approach to dealing with social service delivery. Touted as his “signature” public policy,<sup>88</sup> Bush’s FBI is designed to not only expand the number and types of religious organizations receiving grants to administer social services, but also to change the terms of that delivery as well. Traditionally, religious organizations, such as Catholic Charities or Jewish Family Services, have been able to fulfill part of their religious mission in extending care to the needy by receiving government support.<sup>89</sup> In developing these social services, however, these entities, in order to protect the Constitutional imperative of separation of church and state, have had to create separate non-profit entities that receive public funds.<sup>90</sup> They do not proselytize, worship, or do any other religious activities in the context of administering social services, nor do they keep religious symbols or messages in places where services are rendered. Bush’s FBI efforts have encompassed tax breaks designed to encourage charitable giving, but the emphasis has been on “Charitable Choice,” a policy trend focused on relaxing these government standards for religious organizations competing for federal funds to administer social services.<sup>91</sup> Charitable

choice, described as eliminating discriminatory barriers for faith-based organizations to compete for government funds, was part of the Welfare Reform of 1996.<sup>92</sup> Though Bush failed to secure the legislative victories he desired for his FBI, he has used executive orders and changes within federal agencies to effect significant policy alterations; in addition to establishing a special office for the FBI in the White House, he has set up special units within government agencies to oversee its implementation.<sup>93</sup>

The implementation of the FBI has proven to be a sharp departure from previous practices. Perhaps the most far-reaching and constitutionally problematic example is that religious organizations that receive federal financial assistance “indirectly” can indeed use them for inherently religious activities. Indirect assistance refers to the receipt of benefits through vouchers or similar units of exchange where beneficiaries have options to choose between religious and secular organizations rendering social services.<sup>94</sup> The regulations state that it is important to keep church and state separate, but provide a significant loophole that allows and arguably entices religious organizations to administer social services in such a way that they can openly proselytize. As the above suggests, though the Bush administration’s efforts to gain significant legislation failed, it was able to work through the executive branch to achieve significant change in the administration of government-sponsored, faith-based social services. Commentators and politicians have understandably focused on the constitutional implications of the FBI in terms of separation of church and state and potential employment discrimination, but, as Georgia Persons explains, it is important to examine it as both “social and urban policy,” that is, social policy targeted specifically for urban (read: Black) areas.<sup>95</sup>

The FBI arguably benefits a range of religious entities, but specifically targets Black communities both as a means of securing Black votes and facilitating the moral rehabilitation of Blacks via faith-based organizations. The key proponents of the initiative were forthright in their hopes that this policy push would make inroads into the Black community. The need to attract Black party votes was made plain, given the traditional alignment of Blacks with the Democratic Party, but was underscored by the fact that “In 2000, for every black who voted for Bush, 10 voted for Al Gore.”<sup>96</sup> The FBI would be a viable tool for dislodging the traditional connection between Blacks and the Democratic Party.

Bush and his advisors were aware that the FBI would likely garner support from Black churches because it would, indeed, potentially assist churches in their historic mission of delivering much needed

social services to beleaguered communities. Black churches have been a core component of what social scientists refer to as the Third Sector, namely civil society—the collection of nonstate-centered entities that nevertheless are important in rendering social goods and assistance to the poor.<sup>97</sup> Black churches provide a range of services to communities, including, but not limited to, food, shelter, educational training, and health care. Poverty levels have remained high in Black communities and the Black church has played a critical role in buttressing poor communities against economic hardships and discrimination. Bush's relaxation of the requirements for receiving federal support would enable a greater number of churches to receive such assistance, although large churches would still be in the best position to handle the administrative and economic infrastructure necessary to process such funding.

Bush and others capitalized on this historic role of the Black church by pointing out that urban or Black congregations often provided social services and/or were more likely to apply for government aid to support such objectives. DiIulio, for instance, noted that over seventy percent of Black congregations render social services.<sup>98</sup> A Bush campaign press release for the 2000 election, “trumpeted the support of black ministers, quoting one pastor who contended: ‘African Americans will no longer be taken for granted. It can no longer be what someone wants to do for us, we want to participate in our own destiny.’ ”<sup>99</sup> President Bush directly fingered Black churches as the likely recipients of much faith-based spending. He states:

[M]any acts of charity and social justice are also the acts of faith. And in our cities, they are often associated with African American churches. More than 70 percent of Africa American churches engage in community outreach programs, including day care, job search, substance abuse prevention, food and clothing distribution. They're far more likely to apply for public funds for their social programs than other churches. And the people who most often benefit from the outreach efforts of these African American churches are poor children, who are not affiliated with any church, at all. In some places, African American churches are the only institutions that hold the fraying strands of a community together. And their work should be praised and welcomed and encouraged.<sup>100</sup>

As the above comments suggest, Bush and other proponents of the policy believed that it would counteract poverty via moral rehabilitation with the first and most important beneficiaries being Black churches.

Given this point of emphasis, the Bush administration ensured that Black ministers figured prominently in early publicity and discussion of the initiative. In December of 2000, shortly after a hotly contested election, Bush spoke to ministers about strengthening government support for churches' efforts to assist the poor.<sup>101</sup> This meeting included others who were not of Black Christian faith communities, but they were arguably disproportionately represented and figured prominently in news media publicity for the events. Among the visitors to the White House were Floyd Flake, a former Congressman and noted proponent of community development, and Eugene Rivers, a nationally recognized, Black nationalist and pastor of Boston's Azusa Christian Community, a Charismatic Christian congregation.<sup>102</sup> In March of 2001, Black clergy, including Eugene Rivers, met with the president, presenting him with "an open letter to the nation" supporting the FBI and criticizing White evangelicals for resisting the FBI because it would "disproportionately benefit black people."<sup>103</sup> Also, the initial legislation for the FBI was introduced by Tony Hall and Black, Republican Congressman J.C. Watts, himself a minister and one committed to increasing government supported faith-based social services.<sup>104</sup> Watts held a religious summit during which he gave the keynote address, shortly after the bill's introduction.<sup>105</sup>

Interestingly the prominence of Black ministers in promotion of the FBI and the likelihood that Black communities would be the primary beneficiaries was arguably at least part of the reason White, conservative evangelical Christians became disaffected from the FBI. In a controversial speech given in 2001 at a meeting for the National Association of Evangelicals, then director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, John Dilliuo, noted: "Predominantly white, exurban, evangelical and national parachurch leaders . . . are fret[ting] about [a] 'hijacked faith[-based initiative].'"<sup>106</sup> Dilliuo, unsurprisingly, drew sharp criticism for his remarks. Black nationalist, Pentecostal pastor Eugene Rivers argued, "When it became clear that the focus of the office [of faith based and community initiatives] would be on the most needy in the inner cities, then there was this hysterical outcry from certain elements in the extreme [Christian] right."<sup>107</sup> Later that year, when DiIulio tendered his resignation, Rivers suggested that it was a result of pressure from the Christian Right, stating that his resignation symbolized an abandonment of the FBI's commitment to those in the inner cities.<sup>108</sup>

Significantly, while the naming of the initiative as "faith-based" and the targeting of clergy for backing focuses attention on support for religion, it obscures its connection to Compassionate Conservatism and the self-help, Black cultural pathology based assumptions out of

which the initiative grows. In fact, according to Black political scientist Georgia A. Persons, the FBI can be classified as what is known as “‘stealth urban policy,’” a policy initiative that targets urban areas in ways in which it is “not perceived as directing benefits toward cities.”<sup>109</sup> Persons explains that the FBI is both “social and urban” policy, in that it focuses on urban areas and facilitates social service delivery.<sup>110</sup> The fact that stealth urban policies like the FBI are developed, highlights the need to read specific policies intertextually, understanding them in light of their nested contexts, against the backdrop of the political narratives from which they emerge.

To be sure, when one examines the FBI intertextually, considering the text or narrative of the policy against the metanarrative or supertext of the BCPP, one finds several ways in which the FBI falls squarely within Compassionate Conservatism and the BCPP’s priorities. First, the FBI affirms, or, as a cultural narrative itself, provides new narrative versions of cultural, victim-blaming readings of poverty.<sup>111</sup> In the “Foreword” of his “Rallying the Armies of Compassion” statement outlining his FBI, Bush begins by stating, “America is rich materially, but there remains too much poverty and despair amidst abundance.”<sup>112</sup> Paul Weber observes that, in his speech, Bush focuses the FBI on the personal shortcomings of poor people and their families.<sup>113</sup> And, indeed, the difficulties Bush notes, such as young people dying before their time due to “crime, drugs, and other problems,” parents in prison, unwed motherhood, and welfare dependency,<sup>114</sup> are part of the constellation of issues that are typically associated with cultural readings of poverty.

Since poverty is a function of cultural deterioration, it would require cultural rehabilitation, specifically by faith-based organizations. Thomas Ross explains: “The [faith-based] initiative’s unstated but fundamental contention is that faith-based programs ought to command government funding because they influence the *religious* beliefs of clients . . . the initiative assumes that fighting poverty effectively entails changing the moral beliefs of the poor and that government-sponsored service agencies have failed precisely because they have not done so.”<sup>115</sup> Sheila Suess Kennedy’s work provides a telling example of the aim of FBIs. In her investigation of the constitutional and other challenges presented by Charitable Choice in the criminal justice arena, she finds that programs, such as the InnerChange Prison Fellowship (a ministry focused on addressing crime generally) or Teen Challenge (a ministry addressing drug use specifically), are not only faith-based, but “faith *infused*” (emphasis in original), emphasizing the need for religious conversion as a means of fighting drug addiction and crime.<sup>116</sup> As she explains,



"These drug and prison programs provided by faith groups have religious conversion as their primary purpose."<sup>117</sup> Such programming is the type envisioned for and enabled by the FBI. Here problems associated with poverty are read as a function of moral failure as opposed to systemic economic issues. In this light, it is unsurprising that the FBI does not result in large outlays of additional spending on social services. As defined in the work of Olasky, Magnet, and others, the Compassionate Conservative philosophy pinpoints poverty as emanating from a breakdown in morality, a moral debasement caused and exacerbated by government fomenting dependency through the provision of social services. To the extent that spending is prioritized and directed, it is focused on bolstering those institutions that are thought to be ideally suited to shoring up moral degeneracy—the Black church.

Bush's spending and taxing priorities have reflected this philosophy, as the FBI has not resulted in financial gains for Blacks. First, the changes wrought by the FBI were not accompanied by the provision of significant new funds, but by requirements that would cast a wider net on the types and number of organizations that could compete for aid. The initiative arguably heightened, then, competition among religious-based social service providers. Second, Blacks have suffered disproportionately from the changes in the family welfare system and from cuts in federal spending. Indeed, Bush's budget proposals have consistently slashed social services spending and programs assisting poor communities. In his 2006 budget proposal, put forth in the year after election to his second term, Bush proposed tighter standards for receiving food stamps, the elimination of the Community Services Block Grant, which is worth over a half-billion dollars, and an end to Perkins loans, which supports over 650,000 students, for instance.<sup>118</sup> In this same budget cycle, Bush proposed the privatization of Social Security, a move that would jeopardize the stability of this program, which is an especially important safety net for Black seniors.<sup>119</sup> The view that the FBI actually expands social services spending and/or financially benefits poor communities, therefore, is an illusion. Poor communities have been further marginalized by the general approach of Bush's fiscal policy via cuts in taxes and reductions in spending for the poor.

The FBI also fits within the Compassionate Conservative philosophy because it authorizes the Black church as the ideal provider of social services. As previously noted, the Black church is a key component of civil society, the "Third Sector" of networks and structures that provide an alternate field from government and business in which citizens pursue economic and political ends.<sup>120</sup> R. Drew Smith observes

that this Third Sector has unfortunately “been the sector of first resort for African Americans—due largely to constricted black access to governmental and business sectors.”<sup>121</sup> The FBI and the Compassionate Conservatism of which they are a part affirms the devolution of responsibility for social services begun with the 1996 Welfare Reform changes and continues to popularize the idea that communities and states are responsible for tending to the needs of poor people. Because of this, David Ryden explains, “liberal Black Church leaders” criticized the 1996 changes in the welfare system.<sup>122</sup> Black churches are arguably more receptive to the FBI given their social commitment; nevertheless, there is no agreement as to the viability and worth of Charitable Choice.<sup>123</sup> By emphasizing social service delivery by the Third Sector, the FBI strengthens the historic limitation of Black access to the government and business sectors and reverses the broadened access symbolized by Civil Rights movement gains.

In addition to shifting responsibility for social services to the Third Sector, support for the FBI also affirms undemocratic notions of self-help by undermining the existing structure of Black political leadership. Since he first entered the White House, Bush has slighted traditional Black elected officials. Bush has maintained a strained relationship with the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), for instance, and he refused to meet with members of this important body until January 26, 2005.<sup>124</sup> He has also ignored or shunned traditional civil rights entities, most notably the NAACP. As the leading civil rights organization, the NAACP typically receives visitations from sitting presidents. Bush, however, consistently refused to meet with the NAACP throughout his first administration, and only met briefly in the White House with outgoing president Kweisi Mfume soon after the election in December 2004 to discuss the strained relationship between the president and the organization.<sup>125</sup>

The president, conversely, has consistently courted conservative, Christian leadership. This was signaled most notably by his selection of Kirbyjon Caldwell, pastor of Windsor Village, a megachurch in Houston, Texas, known for its economic development efforts, as the opening speaker for the 2000 Republican convention. His pursuit of conservative, Christian leadership was also advanced early on and throughout his presidency by advancing FBIs in Black communities among Black ministers. By shunning traditional Black leadership and cultivating conservative, Black religious leadership, Bush is subtly, but powerfully redirecting political authority and legitimacy toward conservative elements of the Black church, those elements invested in economic self-help and the philosophy of the Black cultural pathology

narrative. As Adolph Reed, Jr., has observed, in the post–Civil Rights era, affirming nonelected officials as the appropriate source of leadership supports symbolic as opposed to substantive leadership and undermines the political system’s investment in having governance undertaken by those that are duly elected by the people.<sup>126</sup>

The success of the Bush administration in gaining support from Black ministers in the 2004 presidential election suggests the possibility of setting the stage for greater patronage via the FBI and signals several avenues for Black voter realignment. Black lobbyist Oliver N.E. Kellman Jr., developed the National Faith-Based Initiative Coalition, an organization that actively promoted Bush’s reelection.<sup>127</sup> The coalition featured sixty-five pastors, including well-known Black clergy such as Los Angeles’s Clarence McClendon and Dayton, Ohio’s James E. Washington.<sup>128</sup> In the months prior to the election, members of the Bush election campaign even contacted some Black pastors, suggesting to them that support for him would translate into financial support via FBI funding.<sup>129</sup>

The Bush FBI strategy, coupled with his support for issues such as a ban on gay marriage, seemed to have a positive impact on his campaign. Though most Blacks continued to vote Democratic, Bush secured two percent more of the Black vote in 2004 as he did in the 2000 election (eleven percent compared to nine percent) and seven percent more of the Black vote in 2004 as he did in 2000 (from nine percent to sixteen percent) in Ohio, a key swing state.<sup>130</sup> Commentators have pointed out that Blacks were attracted to Bush because of his stand on religious, consensus issues in Black communities. Poll data has shown that Blacks see abortion, gay marriage, and school prayer as key issues. A 2004 poll by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies revealed that Black opposition to gay marriage is higher than that of the general population, for instance.<sup>131</sup> Polls also indicated that John Kerry garnered twenty percent less support than Al Gore in 2000 among Black evangelical Christians.<sup>132</sup> Black evangelicals gave Bush a “helpful nudge” in swing states such as Florida, Ohio, and Wisconsin during the 2004 election.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, religious clergyman Wayne Perryman suggests that Bush’s stance on vouchers and gay marriage heightened Black support for the conservative agenda in 2004, because those hot-button issues were not as central in the 2000 presidential campaign.<sup>134</sup> Republican strategists who engineered this targeted push to attract Black conservative Christians have openly commented on their hopes that FBIs will facilitate greater inroads into the Black vote. If this tactic continues to prove successful and to expand, then it could consolidate a Republican patronage system

within a critical segment of Black civil society, signal an important shift in Black voting strength for Democrats, and usher in a limited role for traditional civil rights leadership and Black elected officials.

## *Fatherhood Initiatives*

### *Overview*

Bush's Fatherhood Initiative is another means by which the assumptions of the BCPP have served as an action frame for public policy. The FBI and the FI emerged during the same time period, nevertheless, the specific frame developed from the supertext of the BCPP shifted from dealing with moral uplift via faith-based efforts, to dealing specifically with responsible fatherhood. Like the FBI, the FI is a direct outgrowth of and serves as a response to the social, economic, and political ills that stem from the putative breakdown in families. Compassionate Conservative's take on the BCPP decries a breakdown in the family as a society-wide institution. As demonstrated in chapter 2, however, Blacks are associated with poverty—particularly inner city poverty. The moral debasement of Black communities and the breakdown of two-parent families in Black homes are seen as a harbinger of change for the nation. The resultant policy focus, then, not only turns toward general strategies for moral fortification as in the FBI, but seeks to restore traditional, patriarchal notions of masculinity, particularly regarding fatherhood. Finally, it too is part of the product of the gender, class, and racial politics that generated Welfare Reform. And, like the FBI, the emphasis on masculinity was articulated in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act.

In keeping with the current racial politics, which focuses on coded references to racial issues, FIs are not always directly touted as targeted for Black and other minority communities. Programs associated with the FI, particularly those that are government-supported, typically focus on low-income communities. Blacks and Latinos are disproportionately represented among these communities,<sup>135</sup> and, so, are the target populations for such initiatives. Like the FBI, the FI is an example of stealth urban policy—policy implicitly designed for and/or targeting urban populations.

As with the FBI, the FI did not garner wide-scale legislative support, although it fared better than the FBI. Because of its focus, however, it garnered less opposition from the Black community. Primed by decades of interest in political narratives surrounding the Endangered Black Male, Black legislators, community activists, and other concerned parties

support these initiatives, even though the FI is as centrally tied as FBIs to the Compassionate Conservative philosophy of the Bush administration and reaffirms microstructural, morality-based solutions for problems caused by poverty and political disenfranchisement.

Indeed, in the early 1990's, the crisis of the Endangered Black Male had already become firmly established as a salient public policy issue, as evidenced by the breadth of commentary on the subject and the resources engaged to address the identified crisis. The crisis of the Black male has generated support from a range of political figures, including the leaders of the NAACP and the Urban League.<sup>136</sup> Nationwide conferences, panels, and hearings have been convened to map the contours of the crisis and suggest public policy initiatives.<sup>137</sup> As early as 1992, for instance, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation convened a national conference in Washington, D.C., on the Black male, and, thereafter, developed a forty-seven-member National Task Force on African American Men and Boys.<sup>138</sup> The U.S. Congress invited, through the 21st Century Commission on African American Males, scholars and politicians to explore legislative issues and solutions concerning the crisis of the Endangered Black Male.<sup>139</sup> Led by then Virginia governor Douglas Wilder, the conference sponsored by the Commission featured distinguished scholars, including John Hope Franklin, Margaret Spencer, Jeffrey Johnson, and Andrew Billingsley, who testified about the sociopolitical condition of the Black male.<sup>140</sup> More recently, the CBC foundation has sponsored national conferences on the plight of the Black male.<sup>141</sup>

Importantly, as noted in chapter 2, in keeping with the politics of the BCPP, solutions to the crisis of the Endangered Black Male often look not to economic solutions (or cultural or political ones, for that matter) centered on fighting racism, but to building strong Black men through manhood training, all male educational settings, and male role model programs. As a result of the focus on the Endangered Black Male, churches and other civic groups who support this element of the BCPP have instituted manhood training programs that act as coming of age programs for Black boys. The programs are typically based on Afrocentric value systems and teach values designed to equip Black boys to deal with Eurocentric values and standards. All Black male academies have been another response.<sup>142</sup> These manhood training programs and academies do not generally make an effort to account for the special benefit of Afrocentric education for boys as opposed to girls, but focus instead on the benefits to Black boys of having strong male role models.<sup>143</sup> By providing role models and a sound value system, the schools and training programs compensate for the deficiencies of

female-headed households and the ghetto culture in which they are putatively entrenched.<sup>144</sup>

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the success of the Million Man March helped to jump start a men's movement in Black churches. In addition to these "million march" knockoffs noted in chapter 2, the March has also inspired and further popularized Black men's groups organizing in Black Christian circles. One of the most popular of these groups is Trusted Partners, a program in Black Christian churches that provides role models for young Black males as a means of compensating for the deficiencies of single-parent, female-headed households. As Legette remarks, "Trusted Partners wants to change the mind-set and social conditions of the endangered black male . . . Trusted Partners believes that black single mothers are incapable of parenting black boys, which is typical of black manhood ideology."<sup>145</sup> T.D. Jakes, bishop and pastor of the popular Potter's House in Dallas, Texas, hosts an annual Manpower conference, which has boasted an attendance of up to 20,000. The ManPower conferences began in 1993 after the success of Jakes's popular Woman, Thou Art Loose conferences that focused on issues specific to Black women. According to conference promoters, "Across the country, men leave the conferences with new resources to restore their marriages, elevate their confidence and summon the boldness that God intends for men."<sup>146</sup> Although Jakes's ManPower conferences are not designed to directly confront the crisis of Black male endangerment, men-only events such as these have arguably benefited from not only men's movements outside of Black churches, such as the Promise Keepers, but most especially, the Million Man March's popularity. Given the groundwork provided by a focus on endangered Black men, there was little opposition to the FI.

*The Fatherhood Movement, the BCPP,  
and the Implementation of the  
Fatherhood Initiative*

Although most associate the FI with the Bush administration, as Trish Wilson observes, FIs were actually advanced during Clinton's final administration and were promoted by political groups focused on restoring fatherhood. Wilson relates that, in June of 1995, Clinton produced an official Memorandum, "Supporting the Role of Fathers in Families," in which he mandated an assessment of programs throughout the executive branch to evaluate their effects for fathers and families. Vice President Al Gore reported the results of this investigation as part of his "Father to Father" Initiative.<sup>147</sup>

The promotion of Welfare Reform fomented activity among political groups interested in promoting fatherhood, and helped to launch the fatherhood movement. Wilson notes that these efforts at fatherhood promotion resonated with the political discourse and activity in the 1990s that was focused on Welfare Reform, which vilified and highlighted the role of women on welfare, and increasingly focused on manhood and fatherhood. In the year preceding Clinton's Memorandum, for instance, Don Eberly founded The National Organization of Fathers—later referred to as the National Fatherhood Initiative (NFI)—a group that would remain important in ensuing discussions and advocacy for fatherhood rights and policies. According to Wilson, with backing from conservative groups such as the Scaife Family Foundation, the NFI raised almost two million dollars between 1998 and 2001. Don Eberly's edited book, *The Faith Factor in Fatherhood*, is one of the group's many fatherhood promotion projects.<sup>148</sup> Its title, interestingly, signals the link between faith, fatherhood, and Compassionate Conservatism. This fatherhood movement activity, with its narrative frame of responsible fatherhood, would have a definite impact on public policy. The concepts of the movement would be implemented, its ideas discussed and affirmed in the corridors of national power, and its proponents selected for key governmental positions.

The fatherhood movement was dominated by the interests of White males in ways that prioritized the development of patriarchal macho, although the fatherhood movement consisted of two wings with different constituencies and somewhat divergent interests. More specifically, Anna Gavanas, who has studied the racial and gender politics of the fatherhood movement—or what she terms the fatherhood responsibility movement—in the United States, notes that it is divided into pro-marriage and Fragile Families wings. According to Gavanas, pro-marriage proponents consist of a range of groups, largely dominated by White men, the most significant being the NFI, the National Center for Fathering, and the Institute for Responsible Fatherhood and Family Revitalization. Fragile Families groups, such as Partners for Fragile Families and the National Center for Strategic Non-Profit Planning and Community Leadership, on other hand, focus on the needs of poor, largely minority communities. Child support agencies, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Ford Foundation figure prominently in Fragile Families Groups' programming and funding networks.<sup>149</sup>

Both wings support the idea of marketplace masculinity, or the understanding that manhood is defined and enabled by men being

family breadwinners;<sup>150</sup> this results in a focus on shoring up responsible manhood, through restoring men's place in two-parent, patriarchal families and instilling in men the character needed to fulfill their roles as fathers. Gavanas's study of Fragile Families representatives and organizations reveals that, since Black and other minority men have been deprived of the ability to fulfill this role, they see themselves as needing to catch-up to White men. As she explains, however, this goal of "catching up," affirms White, middle-class standards of acceptable manhood and feeds into racial stereotypes. It is particularly evident in the promotion of role modeling, she notes, where middle-class, minority men are advanced as examples for their putatively irresponsible low-income counterparts. This falls directly in line with the middle-class model of respectability that is part of the class politics of the BCPP. Moreover, explains Gavanas, in order to compete with the dominant pro-marriage wing, Fragile Families representatives "may critically endorse marriage" in ways that do not reflect their full range of concerns, so they can have greater success in funding. She found that, where the pro-marriage wing advocates marriage as a means of shoring up responsible fatherhood, Fragile Families constituencies emphasize the need for low-income, minority men's employment as a foundation for responsible fatherhood. Fragile Families groups deem marriage a positive achievement, but they also support functional alternatives like team parenting (i.e., encouraging unmarried fathers' involvement in the raising of their children), which facilitates their "marriageability." Fragile Families constituencies may be called to "endorse" marriage, but not in ways that highlight their concerns about structural issues. In this way, they are effectively "co-opted" in the words of one Fragile Families' spokesperson, by the dominant pro-marriage wing.<sup>151</sup> This is an example of frame conflict, where the emphasis on responsible fatherhood displaces other narrative frames involving social justice. As Gavanas notes, "Whereas the fragile-families wing concentrates on civil rights and racial justice [i.e., concerns about racism's impact on the socioeconomic status and outcomes for Black families, particularly Black men], the pro-marriage wing primarily stresses men's individual moral obligations to family, society, and God."<sup>152</sup> The dominance of the neoconservative, pro-marriage wing is evidenced in the spotlight on their ideas and key players in the development of the FI.

As an example of the fatherhood responsibility movement's effectiveness, in response to the growing focus on promoting fatherhood, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution on responsible



fatherhood in 2000. This resolution, "The Sense of the House Regarding Responsible Fatherhood," noted the important roles of fathers in families and supported the promotion of policies geared toward shoring up the role of men in families. To promote these efforts, there were bills being entertained at the time such as The Fathers Count Act and the Responsible Fatherhood Act. The fatherhood movement had a direct impact. The work of the NFI was praised in the resolution. Moreover, *Fatherless America: Confronting Our Most Urgent Social Problem*, a 1995 book written by one of the NFI's chief architects, David Blankenhorn, was referenced in the resolution and the book regarded as "a foundation of the fatherhood movement."<sup>153</sup>

As with his FBI, Bush had relatively marginal legislative success with his FI, during the early years of his first administration. The 106th Congress, for instance, featured legislation that would have provided \$140 million over a four-year period "for projects designed to promote marriage, promote successful parenting and the involvement of fathers in the lives of their children, and help fathers improve their economic status by providing job-related services to them." Although it passed twice in the House, the House and Senate failed to reach consensus on the terms of the bill, so it did not reach a Senate vote. The 106th Congress, however, did give \$3.5 million to the NFI and \$500,000 to the Institute for Responsible Fatherhood and Family Revitalization. During the 107th Congress the Senate agreed on and debated a bill providing \$75 million for demonstration projects developed by select states and "eligible entities" and for media campaigns sponsored by states and a leading nonprofit responsible fatherhood group.<sup>154</sup>

Most significantly, like the FBI, the FI was also implemented via the administrative apparatus of the executive office. Within the first month of Bush assuming office, six agencies—the departments of Agriculture, Education, Health and Human Services (HHS), Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor—issued a joint guidance, supplying information about federal resources available to assist promotion of responsible fatherhood.<sup>155</sup> These agencies have all implemented various FIs, underscoring the role that administrative implementation plays in the development of public policy.

Of all the agencies, HHS has served as the center of direction for the president's efforts, and was staffed with people primed to implement the BCPP-based FI. Bush tapped Tommy Thompson as secretary of HHS, and Wade Horn as assistant secretary for Family Support, two people noted for their emphasis on marriage, to lead the agency.<sup>156</sup>

Tommy Thompson, the former governor of Wisconsin, gained attention by using work requirements to reduce the number of people in his state receiving welfare, and he supports legislation linking receipt of welfare and marriage.<sup>157</sup> Wade Horn, former president of the NFI, is a leader in the fatherhood movement, and, prior to his appointment to HHS, focused on “promoting marriage in response to rising divorce rates.”<sup>158</sup> Under their direction HHS has supported a variety of programs, conferences, and research efforts to promote responsible male behavior, emphasizing providing low-income men with role-modeling of fatherhood. This focus on responsible fatherhood, in general, and role-modeling, in particular, is a direct response to the BCPP’s assumptions about Black family breakdown being a critical reason for Blacks’ marginalization and represents a natural evolution of the politics driving Welfare Reform. HHS would promote a variety of government programming that supported the BCPP’s priority on stabilizing the family through patriarchal family relations.

First, HHS affirmed the BCPP’s emphasis on family breakdown and the need to restore patriarchal manhood through child-support enforcement, and opportunities and training for fathers to be involved in the lives of their children. As the department tasked with child-support oversight, HHS has played an important role in implementing Welfare Reform changes that relate to child-support enforcement. Welfare Reform promoted stricter enforcement, including, among other things, denial of passports for fathers for arrearages above \$5,000.<sup>159</sup> States are also able to use money collected for child support to offset payments made to TANF recipients.<sup>160</sup> In such cases, child-support payment does not enhance the economic standing of poor families. The logic of these punitive efforts is designed to force financial responsibility onto delinquent fathers, not to shore up the financial stability of poor families.

A second way in which HHS has affirmed the BCPP’s emphasis on family breakdown and the need to restore patriarchal manhood is through programs and demonstration projects associated with child support and responsible fatherhood. HHS, for instance, supports Parents’ Fair Share (PFS): a demonstration project conducted in seven states, which offers a range of services, such as job and parenting training, designed to increase “low-income” fathers’ financial and emotional contributions to the lives of their children. The Office of Child Support Enforcement, the agency housed in HHS’ Administration for Children and Families (ACF), has provided eight states with grants “to test comprehensive approaches to encourage more responsible fathering by non-custodial parents.” Though varied, state programs

have provided job training, job search, and visitation services. In addition, HHS has worked with the Department of Labor to facilitate welfare-to-work programs for noncustodial male parents.<sup>161</sup>

Third, and most significantly, HHS has affirmed the BCPP's emphasis on family breakdown and the need to restore patriarchal manhood through the Head Start program, an established national government program, which provides early childhood education for low-income families. The government's implementation of the FI in Head Start began in June of 1995 under the Clinton administration, which instituted "a government-wide initiative to strengthen the role of fathers in families." In response, HHS expanded its efforts to include several new initiatives. Between 1991 and 1994, for example, the government provided money for six demonstration projects that established six programs focused on "male involvement" in low-income families. Examples of Head Start programs include "The Dad Show," a radio program based in Austin, Texas, that provides discussion and information on everything from nutrition and reading to the importance of fathers serving as mentors to their children, "Fathers Advocating Male Involvement in the Lives of Youth" (F.A.M.I.L.Y.), a Philadelphia-based Head Start program that features men advocating for father involvement and monthly meetings to teach fathering skills, and "Good Guys for Head Start," a Boston-based program designed to increase men's interaction with Head Start and with children.<sup>162</sup> More recently, the Head Start program sponsored a National Head Start Institute on Father Involvement in Dallas, Texas, in June of 2004.<sup>163</sup>

### *The Fatherhood Initiative and the Black Community*

As a stealth urban, social policy the FI is typically represented in general terms; however, some programs and projects break with this pattern and directly indicate minority men as target populations. The Accepting the Leadership Challenge (ALC) program, a Head Start program focusing on "male involvement" in families, works with Alpha Phi Alpha, a historically Black fraternity, to "enhance the skills of minority male Head Start parents or father figures."<sup>164</sup> Also, in 2004, the NFI ran a billboard ad campaign featuring Black children making biting remarks to their fathers. These included such comments as "Easter Bunny. Tooth Fairy. Daddy. Eventually kids stop believing in things they don't see," "Dear Daddy, My Mommy Can't Be My Daddy Too," and "Each Night Millions of Kids Go to Sleep Starving[—] For Attention from Their Dads."<sup>165</sup>

Importantly, even though the FI is part of the same political philosophy that gave rise to the FBI, Black politicians and organizations did not offer similar opposition. The CBC, for instance, which annually sponsors conferences on the plight of the Black male, endorsed Senator Bayh's Responsible Fatherhood Act.<sup>166</sup> At a 2003 CBC conference on the Black male, Black nationalist Louis Farrakhan provided the keynote address.<sup>167</sup> This highlights the extent to which nationalist ideology is enlaced with contemporary public policy discourse surrounding Black male endangerment. Also, various Urban League chapters have actively participated in local FI efforts and Christophe Beard, formerly director of the Urban League's responsible fatherhood efforts, has since joined the NFI's staff.<sup>168</sup>

## Conclusion

Examining Black nationalism's influence on and interaction with the state via the BCPP highlights the importance of examining the power of narratives in political discourse and the formal operation of the state. The BCPP, circulated and legitimated by various camps, was developed most directly by and facilitated the development of White and Black nationalist politics. These nationalisms developed through mutually supporting discussions in Black communities and mainstream political discourse around the decline of the family. These discussions, which bear the marks of the mutually constitutive nature of race, gender, class, and other social categories, represented Black women receiving welfare as by definition hypersexual, immoral, and the cause of widespread poverty and pathology in Black communities. Black political discourse, particularly Black nationalist political discourse, however, focused more directly on the question of wounded masculinity generated by the breakdown of the family. Through popularizing this frame around Black male endangerment or crisis, political actors generated public attention and support for policy geared toward bolstering Black patriarchal masculinity. This focus predated and likely helped to legitimize the current focus on manhood and fatherhood prevalent in social policy discourse. It reveals how the state can be influenced by black political discourse as it resonates with the state's agenda along racial and gender lines. I argue, then, that Black nationalism exists in a dynamic, evolving, and mutually reinforcing relationship to mainstream, White nationalism not only in terms of sharing assumptions about gender and middle-class respectability, but in terms of supporting narratives and various frames that generate public policy.

In addition to highlighting the importance of narrative analysis in assessing nationalism and public policy, the analysis of nationalism I undertake here has definite implications for both how political actors within Black communities evaluate policy and scholars' understanding of ideology and intraracial politics. Although the BCPP-based Compassionate Conservatism generated the FBI and FI, and both support the conservative effort to cut social services and place more responsibility for alleviating poverty on the Third Sector of civil society, they evoked different responses from Black political actors. This disjuncture in response exposes the effectiveness of frame alignment processes in pressing the conservative agenda. It points to the ongoing need for a broad-based, feminist analysis of public policy in Black communities, as well as the need to examine public policies in their narrative context, that is, in relationship to the political narratives or stories and argumentation to which they are connected.

My analysis of nationalism also indicates a need to raise questions about the long-standing assumption of a dichotomy between Black nationalists and integrationists. Analysis of Black politics, specifically within political science, has focused on nationalism and integrationism as the two main ideological tendencies within Black politics. These ideological camps are generally portrayed as polar opposites, with integrationists seen as advocating for inclusion into the American political system and nationalists deemed as advocating for more radical aims, including, but not limited to, revolution, reparations, repatriation to Africa, or the cultivation of culturally centered rituals and institutions. Also, class-wise, integrationism has been characterized as the politics of the Black middle class, whereas nationalism has been judged as supporting poor and working-class Black people and their interests.

The history of the development of the BCPP and its influence on public policy, however, confounds the traditional understandings of these Black political ideologies. As others, such as Robert Smith and Julia Jordan-Zachery, have observed, political actors and institutions judged as integrationist and nationalist support the dominant gender ideology in the United States.<sup>169</sup> To be sure, though nationalists arguably played a leading role in developing and popularizing the BCPP, particularly the emphasis on Black male endangerment, Black integrationist politicians and organizations, such as the NAACP and Urban League, as well as Black churches, also played a significant role in its development. This paradigm supports middle-class notions of respectability and often suggests achieving them as a litmus test for being accorded full political standing. While there may be relevant

distinctions between nationalists and integrationists to be observed in particular historical contexts, it is important to recognize that these ideologies are not transhistorical in their character and both develop counter discourses that incorporate elements of the dominant narratives and politics they resist, particularly regarding class and gender.

My examination here focused on the role of the BCPP and Black nationalism in influencing public policy and the dynamic relationship between Black and White nationalisms. Here, one can clearly see the ways in which this paradigm supports a masculinist focus in Black politics and in public policy. This paradigm, and its priority on Black men—as leaders and as the special targets of racial oppression—has also impacted Black political discourse in other ways related to representations of Black women, most notably, as I will show in chapter 4, as traitors to the race and Black men.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 4

### *“A Threat from Within”: The Black Woman as Traitor in African American Thought and Politics*

#### Introduction

In “Politics, Black Women and Easy Prey,” an op-ed piece that appeared in *Emerge* magazine in 1995, Marc A. Cummings discusses the allegations of sexual harassment against and subsequent dismissal of former NAACP executive director Benjamin Chavis. Cummings puts this public incident (what he calls a “media fiasco”) into what he sees as a larger context of anti-Black discrimination and political targeting of prominent African American males. In the course of his op-ed piece, he invokes several parallel situations in which men were involved in public, arguably politically motivated scandals: the 1992 Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearings (in which Anita Hill accused Thomas of sexual harassment), the 1991 Mike Tyson rape trial, and the 1990 arrest and trial of Washington, D.C. mayor, Marion Barry, for drug abuse. Against this backdrop, the political demise of Ben Chavis should have signaled one more marker in this long trail of targeting of Black men. “[W]e should have asked ourselves,” Cummings explains, “are Black men in the public eye becoming easy prey for character assassination?” But, the reach of the inquiry cannot stop with political motivations, ostensibly located outside of the Black community. In each case, Cummings argues, the downfall of the prominent Black male in question was achieved with the cooperation of African American women; hence, for Cummings, a second question presents itself for consideration by the Black community: “[A]re these attempts [at character assassination] politically motivated and to what extent are Black women being utilized to this end?”<sup>1</sup>

Significantly, in his account of the political dynamics at work in these various imbroglios, Cummings rehearses a familiar trope within African American political thought: the Black woman as traitor.



The Black woman as traitor caricature is similar to the much maligned and appropriated figure of Latina/o culture, Malinche.<sup>2</sup> A key figure in Mexican history and mythology, Malinche (aka Malintzin) is a woman who served as a native interpreter for the Spanish conqueror Cortes, and, thus, seen as facilitating the Spanish colonization of her own people.<sup>3</sup> Like Malinche, the Black woman as traitor is presented as the ever available and convenient entry point through which those with misplaced motives can pierce the veil of racial community, solidarity, and stability.

In this chapter, employing a Black feminist frame of reference, I explore what is at stake in the use of this trope in political discourse in African American communities. I focus on this trope because it is another example of the BCPP's insidious operation in Black politics. At the narrative level, frame shifting occurs, I argue, through a focus on masculinist, nationalist-oriented definitions of racial community that perform two functions: emphasizing Black male endangerment by seeing men as the special target of racism and situating Black women who defy conventional, White patriarchal standards of womanhood as race traitors. I demonstrate that the traitor figure emerged out of a unique set of dynamics in post-1965 Black politics, namely the rise of Black nationalism and feminism and the increased visibility and political participation made possible by the transition from protest to formal politics. Given its origin and development, I confine my analysis to the political landscape beginning with the Black Power era of the 1960s and 1970s and leading up to the present. I do not attempt to provide an exhaustive genealogy of this particular representation of Black women. Instead, I set out a broad outline of the various articulations of the trope of the Black woman as traitor in particular contexts and within various time periods. I also emphasize topics and/or sources that are part of the hidden transcripts within Black communities, that is, discourses occurring primarily outside the purview of White public space. My focus, as I note in chapter 1, however, is on the hidden transcripts of complicity with racism and sexism, as opposed to resistance.<sup>4</sup> Also, where chapter 3 problematized Black nationalisms' relationship to and influence on the state, chapter 4 relays the stories Black nationalists have developed regarding the state's relationship to and influence on Black communities.

In developing my argument, I first turn to a discussion of community, including its defining characteristics and assumptions, its limitations, and its relationship to nationalism. Second, I examine the origin and development of this trope and its use and operation in three distinct contexts: orthodox Black nationalist discourse, reactions to

Black feminist politics, and the formal political arena. By tracing the development of this trope and considering its importance for Black politics, I name and crystallize our understanding of the trope of the Black woman as traitor—the Black Malinche—as an important and distinct contemporary representation of Black women. In doing so, I take seriously and explore the legacy of the Black Power era in contemporary racial politics.<sup>5</sup>

## On Community

As Hortense Spillers explains, although most leave room for some measure of divergence and change, theorists of community—from W.E.B. Du Bois to Harold Cruse, to scholars in the present—have identified community with a few key features, including: “(1) [An assumption of sameness owing ostensibly to] a commonality of ‘suffering’ that overruns difference; (2) an easily isolated social formation within a larger sociopolitical scheme; (3) or, to reverse the foregoing, a marked position that defines itself against an unmarked one.”<sup>6</sup> Significantly, it is within narratives of a “commonality of suffering” that individuals find a sense of communion, bonding, or familial relations.<sup>7</sup> In this way, community is perceived, paradoxically, as, “both a sum total and a not-entirely thinkable, except by way of the metonymic device.”<sup>8</sup> Community, then, is not only represented metonymically through its individual members, but serves as a “position in discourse,” as well.<sup>9</sup>

Importantly, Black nationalisms share with their counterparts a weddedness to narrativity, to defining a redemptive politics based on a history of subjugation and the promise of political transcendence. As Paul Gilroy explains, “the Africentric [nationalist] movement appears to rely upon a linear idea of time that is enclosed at each end by the grand narrative of African advancement.”<sup>10</sup> In *The Black Woman: Back Door to Racism* (a text I will explore more closely below), for example, Kamal Karriem casts his analysis of the problems of the Black male in a larger narrative about the fall of the Black race globally vis-à-vis the conquering of the African continent and the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>11</sup> The narrative he constructs about the fall of the Black race accounts for that demise and looks toward and delineates a roadmap to a future time of Black emancipation and rule. The Black race, seen as a communal grouping with shared interests, enemies, and identity, is depicted as an actor moving through history toward a victorious future.

Importantly, in Karriem's work, as elsewhere, the unifying assumptions of racial community work to mask or cloak (or, in his case, naturalize) the sexual politics inherent in regnant formulations of racial community. (I am not arguing that notions of racial community are necessarily nationalist, *per se*, but am focusing on a nationalism-inflected conception of community identifiable in discourses utilizing the trope of the Black woman as traitor.) More specifically, the basic assumptions running throughout the nationalism-inflected representations of the Black woman as traitor are as follows:

1. race is a pure category unmarked or significantly unmarked by difference;
2. racial strife is enacted in a battle through the males of each race;
3. issues of sexism are separate and distinct from racial issues; and
4. various issues, including those centering on other aspects of identity, are hierarchically ordered, below that of race.

In each case that I examine, the problems and solutions for "the race" are generally made coextensive with the perceived problems and accompanying solutions for what ails Black men. However much the banner of racism and race consciousness may be used to envelope the concerns and fortunes of the whole of African America, all too often, conceptions of African American racial community are underlain with a masculinist agenda for sexual politics. It is a male-centered discourse masquerading, as it were, as a universal discourse beneficial to all African Americans. It fails to account for movement, change, diversity, or complexity.<sup>12</sup>

Significantly, these assumptions about the boundaries of categories and how different categories are constituted is a manifestation of the political project of Black nationalism. As Leela Fernandes explains:

The attempt to reduce political activity or the representation of interests to a singular identity is in itself a political act, one that attempts to purify identities and categories that are always already marked by differences. The search for a pure category . . . constitutes the very substance of everyday politics; the search for purity in effect puts into play technologies of power that both designate and "police the boundaries" (Hall, 1992a: 30) of the category in question through hierarchical representations of other social identities.<sup>13</sup>

As Fernandes's analysis explains, Black nationalists' projection of a pure racial category "is in itself a political act." Black nationalists' successful

projection of a pure racial category obscures the political work that defining racial advancement around masculinist objectives performs.

## **The Origin and Development of the Trope of the Black Woman as Traitor**

### *Of Masters and Matriarchs: Exploring the Origins of the Black Malinche*

Scholars have identified a general typology of caricatures or symbolic representations of Black women, centering on three key figures: the mammy (Aunt Jemimah), the matriarch (Sapphire), and the whore (Jezebel).<sup>14</sup> The mammy caricature, perhaps the best known of these three master caricatures, originated during the slavery era and depicts a large, smiling, dark-skinned Black woman who happily cares for her White master and his family. Depicted as “strong, asexual, and ugly,” she represents the antithesis of the model of White womanhood propagated at that time that suggested that women were “beautiful, fragile, [and] dependent.”<sup>15</sup> Another characteristic of the mammy is that, whereas she was loving and doting toward the master’s children, she was aggressive and violent toward her own family.<sup>16</sup> Finally, the mammy was also presented as asexual, an image that is contrary to the historic exploitation of slave women who worked inside and outside of their masters’ homes.<sup>17</sup> The matriarch or Sapphire figure is closely related to the mammy caricature, but is distinguished by its focus on the Black woman’s role in her own family. In this context, the matriarch is thought to be aggressive, domineering, and emasculating, a woman who displaces the Black man from his rightful role as patriarch and takes on typically masculine characteristics.<sup>18</sup> The third master caricature is that of the whore or Jezebel. This depiction shows Black women to be wantonly lustful, sexually aggressive beings.<sup>19</sup> The political function of this caricature was to justify the socially sanctioned rape of Black women during slavery.

The trope of the Black woman as traitor stems most directly from the matriarch or Sapphire figure, although it also includes shades of the Jezebel caricature as well. In most narrative renditions the Black matriarch is said to not only be domineering and a usurper of the Black male role, but a willing co-conspirator with White males in the subjugation of Black men and children. In her classic essay, “Reflections on the Black Woman’s Role in the Community of Slaves,”

for instance, Angela Davis states that, "Lingering beneath the notion of the black matriarch is an unspoken indictment of our female forebears as having actively assented to slavery. The notorious cliché, the 'emasculating female,' has its roots in the fallacious inference that, in playing a central part in the slave 'family,' the black woman related to the slaveholding class as collaborator."<sup>20</sup> Davis noted that, since slavery was typically seen as the point of origin of Black women's treason, a critique of the matriarch concept had to begin there; she sought to lay bare the historical truth against the matriarchal fiction, that is, that Black women courageously and wholeheartedly resisted racial oppression.<sup>21</sup>

Although her research was constricted by her incarceration at the time of her research, Davis nevertheless presents a thoroughgoing critique of the Black matriarch caricature. Her first line of attack is a critique of the logic of the myth of the Black matriarch. She argues that according power to Black women would have been inconsistent with the institution of slavery. She writes:

In the most fundamental sense, the slave system did not—and could not—engender and recognize a matriarchal family structure. Inherent in the very concept of the matriarchy is "power." It would have been exceedingly risky for the slaveholding class to openly acknowledge symbols of authority . . . Such legitimized concentrations of authority might eventually unleash their "power" against the slave system itself.<sup>22</sup>

The notion of a matriarchy that situated Black women with power was plainly illogical.

Furthermore, Davis argued that, in addition to being illogical, the myth of the traitorous matriarch was inconsistent with Black women's varied forms of resistance to slavery. The Black slave woman "shared in the deformed equality of equal oppression" with the Black man and played an equal role in forging a "community of resistance." Black women employed a range of strategies in resisting slavery, from covert tactics such as poisoning their masters and participating in "work slowdowns" to overt assaults such as attacking plantations, along with other members of maroon communities of escaped slaves. Black women, moreover, at times endured harsher punishment for their "counterinsurgency" by being burned alive or otherwise killed in particularly torturous ways. Stripped of its veneer of historical legitimacy the myth of the Black matriarch (and her race treason) appears for what it really is: a means of undermining Black advancement through the assertion of patriarchal domination and control.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, although Davis's critique was widely circulated and this article is still

seen as a classic piece in Black Studies, the notion of the Black woman as traitor continues to thrive and develop.

The Black Malinche or Black woman as traitor figure also stemmed from the Jezebel caricature. The Jezebel signifies Black women as being sexually wanton. When joined with the notion of matriarchy, the Jezebel image arguably suggests that Black women, in their treason, willingly invited sex with their White slave owners. This positions Black women as not only hypersexual, but strategic in their use of sex in order to influence male behavior. This, of course, is a reversal of the historic reality that White men have systematically victimized Black women.<sup>24</sup> In the examples I discuss below, Black women are explicitly or implicitly represented as hypersexual and/or utilizing sex in their betrayal of Black men.

The Black Malinche figure evolved against the backdrop of the unique political dynamics that took shape in post-1965 Black politics. Most directly, the Black Malinche figure emerged as a result of and within the interplay of two competing tendencies: Black nationalism and feminism. Black nationalist narratives that figure Black women as traitors were a part of the cultural nationalist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and have become a recurring theme in contemporary nationalist politics. On the other hand, as Second Wave feminism, which of course included Black feminism, developed and opened legal and political space for addressing sexism, the trope of the Black woman as traitor became a key rhetorical device for countering such claims within Black political discourse. Finally, while the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts allowed Blacks to be elected and appointed to public offices in a way unprecedented since the Reconstruction era, this increased visibility of Blacks in the formal political arena would also provide a new stage upon which racial conflicts could be played.

Since 1965, the trope of the Black woman as traitor has evolved into a distinct caricature, often deployed independent of associations with the family or with slavery. Whereas the Black woman as traitor is an element of the myth of the Black matriarch and the Jezebel figure, today we see the trope of the Black woman as traitor deployed in a variety of different contexts, including narratives about Black families, but also Black political scandals, as with Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill, Mel Reynolds and Beverly Heard, and Marion Barry and Rasheeda Moore, and political debates about the nature and viability of Black feminism in Black communities. In each case, Black women were said to betray the Black community through their betrayal of Black men. Anita Hill was cast as a traitor because she raised the issue of her sexual harassment by Thomas and, thus, potentially threatened

his nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. With Reynolds and Heard, Heard was said to betray Congressman Reynolds by bringing allegations of statutory rape against him. With Barry and Moore, the latter's act of betrayal was participating with federal authorities in a sting operation designed to bring down Barry, the Black male mayor of the nation's capital, Washington, D.C.

In its modern rendition, the Black Malinche or Black woman as traitor is often distinguishable from the matriarch figure from which it emerged by its emphasis on or foregrounding of the traitor trope in Black political discourse. The emergence of this Black Malinche caricature underscores the dynamic nature of racial stereotypes, their amalgamation and reinvention in relationship to the changing political climate and contexts in which they are deployed. It highlights the pliability of metanarratives such as the BCPP. Here the Black Malinche caricature gives life to images and texts that center on related, but different elements within the same narrative frame of the BCPP. Our understanding of representations of Black womanhood must be alert to these shifting images and seek to expose their varied ideological functions.

In the discussions that follow I trace the sexual politics of race in various articulations of Black nationalist thought, moving from the marginalized discourses of a more obviously Black nationalist bent, to controversies involving Black feminist politics, to discourses on mainstream politics involving the demise of or a challenge to Black men. In each case, one witnesses another of the major paradoxes of representing community (mentioned above), where community is represented *metonymically* through the Black Man, or particular Black men in these various discourses, and/or *collectively* within grand narratives about the fall and coming preeminence of the Black race or a heroic battle by Blacks to dismantle White racism.

In this latter mode of representing community, that is, community represented collectively within grand narratives of resisting racism, the imbrication of sexual and racial politics comes into sharp focus. Kamal Karriem and Louis Farrakhan, for instance, trading on the same configuration of sexual politics that animates White American nationalism, provide their rendition of a Moynihan-esque reading of state intervention into the lives of Black women. Ironically, whereas critiques of family welfare by White conservatives generally emphasize the debilitating dependency family welfare generates for Black women and the Black community, in Black political discourse, Blacks also focus on how welfare enables Black women to live independently of Black men. For Kamal and Farrakhan, the state is seen as usurping the

role of the Black male patriarch by supporting Black women via family welfare or affirmative action. Providing Black women with family welfare is a calculated move to make Black women dependent upon the state in order to undermine the Black man. Within this Black nationalist-spun narrative of race relations, women are “dupes,” at best, and traitors, typically and at worst. This same invocation of racial community persists in controversies regarding Black feminist scholarship and art. As I will explain, Michele Wallace, Ntozake Shange, and other feminists are implicitly or explicitly deemed traitors, because their political claims about sexism undermine the notion of a pure racial category, and, thus, the collective aim of Black people.

In the former mode of representing community, that is, metonymically, the state (again the primary locus of White supremacist power) or other White constituencies are said to attack African Americans through the person of particular, representative Black men that stand in for the African American community. In these cases, the state or other elements of the White power structure use Black women and issues of sexism as a means to the end of undermining Black people. Through an examination of these various scenarios and discourses, we see how the trope of the traitorous Black woman arises out of various challenges to the masculinist objectives for gender politics embedded within nationalism-inflected conceptions of racial community.

## **The Many Faces of the Black Malinche: Exploring the Trope of the Black Woman as Traitor in Black Thought and Politics**

### *The Black Woman as Traitor in Black Nationalist Politics*

Notions of masculinity, citizenship, and nationality have long been central to Black nationalist politics. Martin Delaney, in fact, widely recognized as the progenitor of Black nationalist thought, “was probably the first black thinker to make the argument that the integrity of the race is primarily the integrity of its male heads of household and secondarily the integrity of the families over which they preside.”<sup>25</sup> Like many of his modern-day counterparts, Delaney saw in the Black man the hope for the future of the race and, in the Black woman, the helpmate of the man, minding the home and children.<sup>26</sup> The promotion



of socially accepted gender roles has been a hallmark of Black nationalist politics, although the nature of those gender role expectations and their articulation and function within various organizations and movements have echoed the changing political dynamics of mainstream American politics. In Black nationalist rhetoric from the 1960s to the present assumptions about appropriate gender role expectations, particularly in families, serve as the framework out of which the trope of the Black woman as traitor takes shape.

The Black Arts movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, the “aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept,”<sup>27</sup> for instance, provided fertile ground for the emergence of the trope of the Black woman as traitor. It included the full range of artistic expression, including poetry, plays, music, and visual arts. The Black Arts movement opposed racist notions of Black inferiority by asserting a positive, culturally centered image for Black identity.<sup>28</sup> Despite its oppositional stance against racism, however, it nevertheless adopted various assumptions about gender norms that shaped its development and limited the scope of its revolutionary agenda. Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins examines four ways in which gender frames the Black cultural nationalism of the Black Arts movement, including:

[T]he importance attached to controlling Black women’s reproduction and sexuality; the significance of Black mothers in passing on Black culture; the notion of complementary gender roles as points of departure in constructing Black masculinity and Black femininity; and the symbolic association of Black women with the nation.<sup>29</sup>

Within the artistic expression of Black cultural nationalism, of which the Black Arts movement was a significant part, the family, and the relationship between men and women in it, became a metaphor for the Black community and by extension, the entire “Black nation.”<sup>30</sup> Women are important biologically as the reproducers of the nation, and figuratively as representatives and purveyors of the cultural norms of the Black nation.<sup>31</sup> Collins further notes that within the requirements of this political vision, women who reject their mandated roles or otherwise object to its gender politics, “face being labeled racial traitors or lesbians.”<sup>32</sup>

Larry Neal’s observations on the Black Arts movement provide a particularly useful basis for examining the psycho-political tensions that give rise to the trope of the Black woman as traitor. In his 1968 essay, “The Black Arts Movement,” Neal, a key figure associated with

the movement, assesses its political nature and function. Neal argues that the Black Arts movement, along with the Black Power concept generally, effectively “proposes a separate symbolism, mythology, critique, and iconology” through which Blacks can realize their “desire for self-determination and nationhood.”<sup>33</sup> In the course of his discussion, he juxtaposes the work of Ron Milner and Jimmy Garrett, two lesser-known, but important, playwrights in the Black Arts movement, whose work “express[es] the general mood of the Black Arts ideology.”<sup>34</sup> More specifically, Ron Milner’s *Who’s Got His Own* and Jimmy Garrett’s *We Own the Night* exemplify two approaches to ushering in a new, liberated Black identity, political revolution (Garrett’s *modus operandi* of choice) and an inwardly directed psychic revolution for Blacks (Milner’s option).<sup>35</sup> In each play, there are mothers who symbolize “the Old Spirituality” that “would live with oppression while ascribing to the oppressors [i.e., Whites] an innate goodness” and male figures, sons, that represent “the New Spirituality,” which promises to free Blacks through “a radical shift in point-of-view.”<sup>36</sup> Despite the divergent approaches to liberation each play is said to represent, their depictions of women, representatives of the Old Spirituality, show them to be accomplices in the social and political arrangements that have kept Blacks bound by racism.

Ron Milner’s play suggests that Black women of that era had abandoned the supportive role of women in the past and rejected Black society in an effort to gain inclusion and acceptance by White America. Neal explains that the family in Milner’s play, *Who’s Got His Own*, is struggling with its own identity, trying to make sense of their lives within a hostile world overcome with racism. Tim’s father dies, and this crisis provokes the family to interrogate and address their internal conflicts and their “sense of powerlessness in a white world.”<sup>37</sup> According to Neal:

Tim’s mother is representative of a generation of Christian Black women who have implicitly understood the brooding violence lurking in their men. And with this understanding, they have *interposed themselves* between their men and the object of that violence—the white man. Thus *unable* to direct his violence against the oppressor, the Black man becomes more frustrated and the sense of powerlessness deepens. Lacking the strength to be a man in the white world, he turns against his family. So the oppressed, as Fanon explains, constantly dreams violence against his oppressor, while killing his brother on fast weekends.<sup>38</sup> (Emphasis added.)

Here the mother, and by extension all Black women of her generation, can relate to or identify with Black men because they “understand”

that racism spawns a “brooding violence” within their men. But, not only do they “understand” that racism creates violence that is turned on them; they actively “interpose themselves” between Black men and White men. This characterization of Black women admits of two readings. On one level, Neal’s language indicates that women like Tim’s mother are positively engaged with Black communities. They actively comprehend or “understand” the effects of racism on their men, and they proactively intervene by serving as a buffer between Black men and a hostile White community. On the other hand, when we consider that Neal identifies the mother in this play as part of an Old Spirituality that has hampered Black progress, the Black mother, and hence Black women of her generation, appears as a stumbling block for the libratory aspirations of the Black community; she has prevented Black men from striking out against their White oppressor. Tim’s mother’s generation of Black women committed race treason by misdirecting the violence that should have been reserved for the oppressor.

In contrast to his mother, in Neal’s reading of the play, Tim’s sister arguably represents a new generation of Black women that is more directly traitorous. As Neal elaborates:

Tim’s sister represents the Negro woman’s attempt to acquire what Eldridge Cleaver calls “ultrafemininity.” That is, the attributes of her white upper-class counterpart. Involved here is a rejection of the body-oriented life of the working class Black man, symbolized by the mother’s traditional religion. The sister has an affair with a white upper-class liberal, ending in abortion. There are hints of lesbianism, i.e. a further rejection of the body. The sister’s life is a pivotal factor in the play. Much of the stripping away of falsehood initiated by Tim is directed at her life, which they have carefully kept hidden from the mother.<sup>39</sup>

Tim’s mother betrays her father and the family by short-circuiting violent opposition to oppression; his sister’s act of betrayal is an outright rejection of the Black community, here symbolized as the Black “body” and more specifically the Black male body. This new generation of Black women that Tim’s sister represents is no longer even identified or concerned with the interworkings of racism and its effect on Black men, as was the case with the previous generation of Black women represented by her mother. She is trying to achieve “ultrafemininity,” something associated with the aspirations of White women. This desire for Whiteness is evidenced by her choice of a mate (a “white upper-class liberal”), her abortion of a child (a practice associated with White cultural values and deemed an act of genocide by the

Black cultural nationalist sensibilities of the times), and her latent homosexuality (what Neal refers to as “a further rejection of the [Black male] body”).

In Garrett's play, *We Own the Night*, the mother of the “Old Spirituality” is cast as the emasculating—and traitorous—Sapphire. The backdrop for the play is an “armed insurrection” in which Johnny, the main character, is involved in a shootout in which he and his comrades are “defending a section of the city against attacks by white police.” While Johnny is receiving medical attention for a gun wound, his mother arrives on the scene. The image Neal relays about the mother in the play is the classic Sapphire caricature. Neal states: “She is a female Uncle Tom who berates the Brothers and their cause. She tries to get Johnny to leave. She is hysterical. The whole idea of Black people fighting white people is totally outside of her orientation.” According to Neal, “Johnny begins a vicious attack on his mother, accusing her of emasculating his father—a recurring theme in the sociology of the Black community.”<sup>40</sup> Neal then extends his analysis of the play by adding his own interpretation of the sociological and political predicament of the Black family.

More specifically, Neal states that divergent economic opportunities that society gives to Black men and women misdirects the allegiances of the Black woman. Neal writes:

In Afro-American literature of previous decades the strong Black mother was the object of awe and respect. But in the new literature her status is ambivalent and laced with tension. Historically, Afro-American women have had to be the economic mainstays of the family. The oppressor allowed them to have jobs while at the same time limiting the economic mobility of the Black man. *Very often, therefore, the woman's aspirations and values are closely tied to those of the white power structure and not to those of her man.* Since he cannot provide for his family the way white men do, she despises his weakness, tearing into him at every opportunity until, very often, there is nothing left but a shell.<sup>41</sup> (Emphasis added.)

It is true that Black women have had a higher workforce participation rate than both White women and Black men, however, the suggestion that Black women's workforce participation aligns them with White interests and causes them to “despise” Black men is a familiar, but unsubstantiated claim. What is at work with Neal and others who adopt this perspective is classic psychological projection. The characterization of Black women as traitors reflects the anxiety of Neal and other Black men who judge themselves as falling short of the socially

accepted measures of successful manhood, who “despise” their own predicament, and then project this attitude and accompanying hostility onto Black women. As in the Black Power era, in the 1980s and 1990s Black nationalist conceptions of appropriate gender roles continued to contribute to the negative, stereotypical characterizations of African American women as emasculating Sapphires and traitors, but in ways that resonated with the political dynamics peculiar to that historic moment.

Beginning with the Reagan era, another incarnation of the emasculating Sapphire appears alongside of the traditional Black family matriarch; she is the Black woman who manages to function quite adequately without the direction and support of Black men, albeit with government support via welfare or affirmative action.<sup>42</sup> In the current era some Black nationalist ideologues view state intervention via family welfare or affirmative action as a means for Black women to gain independence from Black men through dependence on the state. They also maintain, moreover, that within this trade-off lies the seeds of treason for Black women. Black women are seen as giving allegiance to “the White man” (i.e., the state) and assisting in the erosion of Black manhood.

Kamal Karriem elaborates this perspective in the context of metanarratives of slavery in the destruction of African Americans. Because of chattel slavery, Karriem argues, Black men and women have been stripped of the knowledge of their greatness as an African people and their appropriate gender roles. Furthermore, like Patrick Moynihan, he looks to American slavery as the institution that corroded the normal male–female relations between Black men and women. As he explains:

Slavery destroyed our necessities for survival as a homogeneous people. It destroyed our blackness, our human dignity, marriage, fatherhood, and motherhood which literally tore the black family asunder. The black man was reduced to a stud, and the black woman a breeder. The slave masters put the big buck nigger in the stalls with the 10-12 black wenches. *The black man impregnated these wenches, and did not have to worry about taking care of them. That same mentality prevails today.* The black man fathers children and walks away, and massa (the welfare system) takes care of them.<sup>43</sup> (Emphasis added.)

Like Moynihan and others, Karriem argues that the very nature of slavery denied Black men the opportunity to assume dominion in the home. His theory accounts for the perceived promiscuity of Black men by suggesting that, because the Black man was “reduced to a

stud,” he developed an unnatural relationship to women and to his own sexuality.

But Karriem does not stop at blaming White racism and slavery for the current challenges facing African America, he maintains that Black women have been unabashedly traitorous in their efforts to undermine the Black man and, hence, destroy the Black race. Imploring “sisters” (i.e., Black women) to, “display some kind of intelligence at some point or time [in their lives] . . .,”<sup>44</sup> Karriem insists that the Black woman has allowed the “White man” to use her as the back door to racism. “She [the Black woman] has always been in service to the white man. She is submissive to a decadent, immoral and wicked way of life,” Karriem asserts, “and will lick his knee caps if necessary, all in the name of jobs, positions, careers and money.”<sup>45</sup> For Karriem, a renewed effort in properly subjugating the Black woman is the last hope to salvage a once great, but downtrodden race. “The Black man will never have freedom,” he says, “until the Black Woman is in check and put back into her proper perspective.”<sup>46</sup>

Significantly, in addition to maintaining that Black women have been collaborating with the White man to bring about the demise of Black men, Karriem argues that Black women are morally depraved individuals who are unfit for motherhood. The Black woman’s failure in motherhood is evidenced by the growing problems of the Black male and the Black family. As Karriem explains, it is because of the, “ignorance, stupidity and defiance [of the Black woman] against the leadership in the home which is the Black man,” that we have, “prisons filled up to the gills with Black men who have no moral character, self respect or dignity . . . the streets and schools filled up with little ‘wild mad-dogs,’ robbing, killing, stealing, using drugs, selling drugs, raping the woman and committing incest. . . .”<sup>47</sup> Since mothers are the keepers of morality, the reasoning goes, her depravity, her ineptness, will be reflected in her children.

Karriem’s views, with all their crudeness, are consistent with the basic assumptions of the BCPP. Like a range of politicians and commentators, from Eleanor Holmes Norton<sup>48</sup> to Charles Murray, Karriem believes that welfare dependency exacerbates the problem of Black male emasculation, that women—especially, poor, urban women—cannot properly raise children, and that the presence of the male in the home will result not only (or most importantly) in increased financial security, but in stability through providing a role model and figure of authority for the entire family. Karriem is confident that “By nature, men do not have the inclination or temperament to raise children. When they do live in the home they may only see their children a few hours a day. To the

children, he represents an authoritative figure, one due respect and whose rules they will abide by.”<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, when we recall that crime and violence are some of the most serious “results” of father absence, Karriem’s insistence that Black men are needed in the home to maintain control gives credence to the stereotype of Black people, generally, and Black men, especially, as savages unable to subdue their violent natures. Moreover, such analysis fails to incorporate considerations about either the changing nature of the U.S. economy and its effect on African American communities (especially in the inner cities), our increasingly regressive tax structure, or our country’s disparities in educational access among racial and ethnic groups and across class lines.

Like Karriem, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan has also decried the role of welfare and affirmative action in aligning Black women’s interests with the state. According to Farrakhan, when White men conquered Black people, they essentially conquered the Black male. In this fallout between men, women became the prize or spoils of victory, or, the “booty,” to use Farrakhan’s language. Having dethroned the Black male, according to Farrakhan, “the White man” went on to rape and control Black women, which he still does through economic dependence. “Your woman belongs to who feeds her,” he says, and this includes those women receiving AFDC, as well as those women who work for Whites in the public and private sectors. Part of the most despicable aspect of this unfortunate scenario for Farrakhan is that Black men have become dependent on Black women, thus becoming “their children.” And, how, asks Farrakhan, can a woman respect a man “living on her breast”?<sup>50</sup>

But, displacement of the male as head of household and race leader is not the only negative consequence stemming from the proliferation of welfare-supported and professional Sapphires. First, Black women, according to Farrakhan, are deeply unsatisfied and lonely without strong Black men in their lives. In fact, women, he contends, can never be truly fulfilled, no matter how rewarding their careers may be, because, “it [i.e., a job] can’t satisfy your soul like a good lovin’ man.”<sup>51</sup> An increase in molestation is a second, more insidious effect of women working outside of the home. Since women have to work, children are left at home alone and in environments with filthy-minded men.<sup>52</sup> As Farrakhan counsels:

[Y]ou don’t let that man be involved with the changin[g] of that girl. What the hell—that’s what you for. Change that damn diaper! Clean

that dirty behind. And, tell the man go on 'bought his business . . . [he] don't need to be in here wipin no vagina!<sup>53</sup>

Here Farrakhan not only relays a “standard” for preventing molestation and the women’s responsibility in keeping it, he also reinforces the boundaries of masculinity and femininity through affirming the boundaries of caretaking roles between men and women.

For Farrakhan, the professional or working woman especially is a woman out of place, leading to role reversals that result in a third difficulty—domestic abuse. Farrakhan typically characterizes the professional or working woman as Sapphire, the sharp-tongued Black woman who ridicules Black men. As he explains, when Black men assert themselves by telling women “ ‘Look, uh, I want you home here?’ ” Black women respond saying, “ ‘You don’t tell me when to come here. I’m the one bringin’ that money in here baby, unless you forgot. So, while I’m gone you make the bed, you wash the dishes, and put some food on for me when I get home.’ ” By “chumpin’ ” Black men in this way, Black women invite physical abuse. Women he says are like children and are in need of control.<sup>54</sup>

The proper antidote to these unfortunate outcomes, according to Farrakhan is to position Black men in homes in a place of dominance, with women beholden to them, as opposed to the government or private sector. In the final analysis, Black nationalist rhetoric not only blames government support of Black women via welfare and affirmative action for displacing the male as the head of the family, it aligns Black women with White men as co-conspirators in undermining the Black male. They blame the state for promoting dependency among Black women, a dependency that is problematic not necessarily because it is inherently debilitating, but because it is perceived as providing Black women a certain level of independence from Black men, and disrupts masculinist, Black nationalists’ patriarchal aspirations.

### **The Black Feminist as Traitor: Black Nationalism Responds to Black Feminism**

Black nationalist assumptions about race, racism, and community are also present in the controversies directly involving Black feminists and their work. The central paradox created by nationalistic definitions of race and community persists: race is presented as a pure



category unmarked or significantly unmarked by gender difference, even though gender dynamics pervade Black political thinking and organizing. The political end of this way of theorizing race and community automatically positions feminist work at cross-purposes with pursuing antiracist politics. It is from this context that Black feminism is discredited and Black feminists figured as race traitors. While there are numerous skirmishes involving work by and about Black women that cast them in a treasonous light, I return to the particularly prominent controversy that erupted with the publication of Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. Since they were often tied together in public debate, I also discuss (although to a lesser extent) Ntozake Shange's choreopoem, *for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow was enuf*.<sup>55</sup> The political maelstrom involving Wallace's and Shange's work was a watershed in contemporary Black political discourse and would prove to be paradigmatic. Their timing, coming on the heels of the heyday of the Black Power movement, set the stage for future controversies, including the one surrounding Alice Walker's movie release of *The Color Purple*, and disciplined Black feminist discourse in the ensuing decades.

Ntozake Shange's Broadway production of *for colored girls*, first debuted in New York in 1975 at the Henry Street Settlement's New Federal Theater, was critically acclaimed, drew intense media attention, and played before packed audiences.<sup>56</sup> Shange's *for colored girls* introduced the choreopoem as an innovative poetry/theater genre uniquely expressive of Black cultural performance.<sup>57</sup> "Identifying herself as 'a poet first and a playwright second,' Shange developed the choreopoem form as a new genre . . . rooted in an African tradition of movement, song, music, and emotional catharsis."<sup>58</sup> The choreopoem expressed Black female experiences and attitudes regarding love, life, violence against women, and sexual abuse, and was one of the first times that Black feminist issues received center stage in a public context. Black women identified with the substance and style of the choreopoem and were generally empowered by the production. The poem's closing emphasis, which suggested that Black women love and honor themselves, was particularly poignant for many women, although it would later draw fire from *for colored girls*'s detractors.<sup>59</sup> The choreopoem won the Obie Award, as well as the Outer Critic's Award, and was nominated for an Emmy, a Grammy, and a Tony.<sup>60</sup> Today, the choreopoem is still one of the most widely performed and well-attended productions on the contemporary arts scene.

As I note in chapter 2 of this book, like Shange's *for colored girls*, *Black Macho* was ushered in during 1978 with a media blitz that

catapulted the then twenty-six-year-old Wallace to overnight fame and sparked controversy regarding Black feminism and its relationship to the Black liberation struggle. *Ms.* magazine heavily publicized *Black Macho*, providing an excerpt from the book for its readers and placing a close-up of Wallace on its the front page. Furthermore, as also noted in chapter 2, the magazine touted *Black Macho* as “the book that would shape the 1980s,” bannerizing this editorial comment on the front cover of the issue featuring the book.<sup>61</sup>

Both *for colored girls* and *Black Macho* enjoyed critical acclaim at the time in the mainstream media, but their reception in Black communities, and particularly among Black scholars, was, at best, lukewarm, and, at worst, hostile and vitriolic. Shange and Wallace were said to, “not fully understand the culture they set out to describe and examine.”<sup>62</sup> While Lisa Jones comments that *for colored girls* signals “a black woman’s right to her complexity, intelligence, and creativity,” in a word, her liberation, Sherley A. Williams voiced the opinion of many when she stated, “*For Colored Girls* . . . is not an anthem of female liberation but dirge of defeat.”<sup>63</sup> Many, such as Askia M. Toure, felt that *Black Macho* incited Black female antagonisms toward Black males and commented that he felt “raped” after enduring a two hour long discussion with two Black women about Shange’s play.<sup>64</sup> Both the play and the book were said to promote racist stereotypes of Black males as innately violent and uncontrollably licentious. Also, while both Wallace and Shange endured harsh and broad based criticism, Wallace’s *Black Macho* elicited the most damaging and far-reaching criticisms and dismissals. As previously discussed in chapter 2, Wallace’s detractors not only attacked her arguments, but her credibility as a writer, her political motivations, and her political commitment to feminist ideals, as well. Here, returning to the special issue of the *Black Scholar* dedicated to Wallace’s and Shange’s work, I pick up on a different, but related argument concerning the characterization of Wallace’s and Shange’s feminist views as racially treasonous.

Several of Wallace’s and Shange’s critics developed their race traitor claim indirectly by noting Wallace’s and Shange’s acceptance by White mainstream audiences as suggestive of the political effect of their work, as well as their political allegiances. Karenga argued that Wallace’s use of White authors, including Norman Mailer, and the work of White social scientists and commentators, indicated her anticipated audience.<sup>65</sup> Sherley Williams found it curious that Wallace, “despite her avowed feminist stance, surrenders almost totally to the domination of male terminology and male definitions.”<sup>66</sup> Robert Staples argued that White feminists, ostensibly afraid of being called

racists by attacking Black men, enlisted Black women to attack Black men. Staples writes: "Since white feminists could not marshal an all-out attack on black males, and well-known black female activists such as Joyce Ladner and Angela Davis would not, how could they [Black men] be put in their place? Enter Ntozake Shange and Michele Wallace."<sup>67</sup>

Some critics, making the race traitor argument more directly, offered a more nefarious explanation for Shange and Wallace's work. A number of critics maintained that they were not merely courting White audiences or serving as pawns for the feminist movement, but, at best, part of the racist retrenchment taking place at the time, or, at worst, a government backed agenda to undermine antiracist politics. Staples argued, for instance, that for Wallace, "To completely ignore capitalism's systemic features, and its role in black oppression, is to adopt the normative approach of neo-conservative social analysis and bias no different than whites, which makes her book an example of the rightward turn in America."<sup>68</sup> Noted Black psychologist, Alvin Poussaint argued that Wallace and Shange had become, "accomplices with white racists in their own subjugation."<sup>69</sup> "If early on, black men incorrectly blamed black women for their problems, today Shange and Wallace are, in their short-sighted, pro-racist drama and prose, blaming and victimizing the black male," he wrote.<sup>70</sup> Going a step further, Terry Jones, in his piece, "The Need to Go beyond Stereotyping," contended that "Such material as Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* and Shange's play *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide* offer one of the most serious threats to black people since the slave trade."<sup>71</sup> He explains: "Africa's finest reached American shores and have withstood slavery, the black Codes, share cropping, lynching and numerous other heinous acts, now only to be faced with *a threat from within*. Could it be that we will do to each other what whites have not been able to do?" (emphasis added).<sup>72</sup>

Askia M. Toure, a Black nationalist and Black Arts movement figure, directly implicated the government as the chief promoter and beneficiary of *Black Macho* and *for colored girls*. Toure warned that "The recent phenomena of the inflated 'choreo-drama,' *For Colored Girls* . . . and the book, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, should sound a note of alarm throughout the national black community. This alarm should warn all serious political thinkers that the U.S. government's assault against our people . . . is not over."<sup>73</sup> Placing these feminist works in the same category as the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) and "Hollywood's

‘blaxploitation’ counter-revolution,” Toure argued that they were part of the U.S.’s master plan to undermine Black people.<sup>74</sup> He writes:

In this period, culturally there have been no *direct*, head-on attacks against the black community by white America . . . However, true to the new neo-colonial strategy, deadly attacks against black people are now beginning to manifest *within the ranks* of African Americans. The oppressor is now manipulating confused, elitist males and females—who have not lived black working class culture from within—to act as *artistic agent-provocateurs* and further exacerbate our explosive social problems.<sup>75</sup> (Emphasis in original.)

Toure further explains:

[I]t is an ignorance tantamount to *treason* for individuals who consider themselves writers and artists (people of vision, advanced consciousness) to blame either of the *victims*, male or female, for our current situation while totally exonerating our capitalist, national oppressor! I contend that this has been the major trend in the artistic and intellectual efforts of both Ms. Shange and Ms. Wallace . . .<sup>76</sup> (Emphasis in original.)

For Toure, Whites evidenced the corruption of Shange’s and Wallace’s work and motives in their support. Toure explained: “Any time a *New York Times* drama critic can say of Ms. Shange’s artistic efforts, ‘Now the white man can truly call a black woman his sister . . .,’ while keeping in mind the continuing pathological racism of U.S. society, what was meant as a compliment becomes a deadly indictment!” As for Wallace, Toure sought to discredit her work by observing that Ms. editor Gloria Steinem had reportedly worked for the CIA.<sup>77</sup>

Importantly, a few commentators, whether or not they were fully supportive of Shange’s and Wallace’s work, did respond to the claim that sexism was insignificant in the Black community. Audre Lorde, who provided a general response to Staples without much comment on either the choreopoem or the book, affirmed that sexism was a pressing issue to be addressed along with the issue of racism. One commentator, Kalamu ya Salam (the only man who did not criticize Wallace and Shange), pointed out that whether or not Black men held significant, formal political “power” was irrelevant, at a practical level, since mainstream culture and institutions were thoroughly sexist and Black men benefited from this fact. June Jordan blasted Michele Wallace in a review of her book in the *New York Times*, but in the special issue of the *Black Scholar* on Wallace’s and Shange’s work, she

pointed out that Staples's arguments and statistics were misplaced, critiquing Staples's sources and offering her own data to contradict the idea that women were not suffering economically because of racism. "[B]lack women earn appreciably less than black men," she explained, "even if our education is the same. And, in any event, we suffer appreciably more severe levels of unemployment than our brothers."<sup>78</sup> In the end, however, despite the eloquence and logical force of their arguments, these responses were not enough to dislodge the potency and magnitude of the generally hostile sway of the criticisms of Wallace's and Shange's work. In these instances, as in the contemporary debates involving the Barry and Reynolds scandals (discussed below), the political imperative to mark race as a pure category, continue to delimit feminist intellectual criticism and artistic expression. In each case, race is a privileged social category (the critique of capitalist exploitation having lost its momentum in recent times), and concerns regarding gender politics are either downplayed or classified as a secondary concern for Blacks. Although most in the academy are feverishly theorizing about how gender, race, and class are deeply imbricated in their operation, Black political discourse generally pivots on the same definition of community that it did when Shange and Wallace first released their works.

Notably, the traitor charge has also been leveled at "womanists"—scholars who develop antisexist politics under another name and/or political philosophy. Part of the reason Alice Walker coined the term "womanism," in fact, was to escape the limitations of identifying with the term feminism.<sup>79</sup> Walker's definition clearly embraced the political philosophy of feminism, nevertheless she emphasized that "womanism," that is, her conception of the practice of antisexist politics, was concerned about the well-being of whole communities, both men and women. Womanism, particularly since the mid-1980s, has become a burgeoning area of antisexist discourse within the academy.<sup>80</sup> It encompasses a growing group of scholars with a range of political attitudes, philosophies, and commitments, most of whom incorporate the insights of scholars who identify themselves as Black feminists and do not see the two as incompatible. Still, even within womanist circles, questions about divided loyalties for Black female scholars are present. Katie Cannon, for instance, is considered, along with Jacquelyn Grant and Delores Williams, one of the "senior womanist theologians," and "has the double distinction of being the first to appropriate the term womanist for black feminist theology and of publishing the first book on womanist ethics."<sup>81</sup> Cannon's work, nevertheless, has been

attacked for its utilization of the work of White feminists, a practice putatively indicative of a questionable commitment to the Black community and to fighting racism.<sup>82</sup> Shocked at the implications of this charge, Cannon offered the following response:

Every reflective and well-intentioned African American scholar who is consciously concerned with “the liberation of a whole people” must work to eradicate the criterion of legitimacy that implicitly presumes an absolute incompatibility between womanist critical scholarship and White feminist liberationist sources . . . Having struggled so long and hard at the intersection of race, sex, and class, African American women scholars cannot allow the suspicion of fraudulence to spread and contaminate the creative horizons in womanist research and writing. Staying open-minded as heterogeneous theoreticians may prove to be the most difficult ethical challenge in securing and extending the legacy of our intellectual life.<sup>83</sup>

Many womanist scholars continue to exhibit a commitment to heterogeneity in their intellectual work; however, some nationalist womanists continue to see feminism, generally, and Black feminism, specifically, as an illegitimate political identification for Black women.

The latter position is best exemplified by scholar and community activist, Brenda J. Verner. Brenda Verner enlists the use of the term womanism (or, more precisely, what she calls “Africana womanism”), as a means of distancing herself and other Black women from the label and (by her lights) the political project of feminism.<sup>84</sup> In her writings over the past three decades, Verner has consistently denigrated feminism, characterizing it as a term and movement originated by and in the service of White women.<sup>85</sup> Strikingly, Verner envisages Black feminists—and, lesbian feminists especially—as inauthentically Black and/or traitorous, at times referring to them as “judas-goat black feminists.”<sup>86</sup> The Black feminist, for Verner, is as a mule or foil for White women—a Black woman who, through either naiveté or her own opportunistic aims, is “duped” into aligning herself with an alien political project.<sup>87</sup> Verner resolves the tensions between feminist and nationalist politics by creating two spheres of ostensibly antisexist discourse, one comprising Africana and other indigenous womanist projects, and the other inhabited by bourgeois, liberal White feminists. For Verner, more specifically, there are “generic women’s issues,” such as childcare, domestic abuse, and rape, and “illegitimate” special interest or White feminist issues, such as abortion and lesbianism.<sup>88</sup> Also, like Collins, Verner assumes that there is a Black women’s standpoint

forged through a shared experience of oppression, and credits this as the founding basis for Africana womanism. She writes:

Africana womanism in essence says: We love men. We like being women. We love children. We like being mothers. We value life. We have faith in God and the Bible. We want families and harmonious relationships. We are not at war with our men seeking money, power and influence through confrontation. Our history is unique. We are the inheritors of African-American women's history, and as such we shall not redefine ourselves nor that history to meet some politically correct image of a popular culture movement, which demands the right to speak for and redefine the morals and mores of all racial, cultural and ethnic groups.<sup>89</sup>

Verner rehearses the standard reactionary attack on feminism, but one, in this case, founded on masculinist-oriented conceptions of racial community.

The community that Verner envisions is a racial community that leaves in its shadow differences of class or gender. And, although racism in general is posited as the most significant source of oppression for the entire community, the priorities of the community are typically figured around the priorities of the males of the race. Within the logic of Africana womanism, Black women are left with fighting the sexism they experience at the hands of Black men in a nonconfrontational mode that stresses "reasoning" and the necessity to bond with Black men to face the larger enemy—White racism. This is why, for instance, commentators such as Earl Ofari Hutchinson can reject Anita Hill's claims of sexual harassment as specious, not because he does not believe sexism is real or Clarence Thomas is capable of such indiscretions, but, "because she raised the issue at the wrong time, in the wrong place and with the wrong people . . . because to this day, she and many feminists are still using Deh Judge as a club to bludgeon the nation on the issue of sexual harassment."<sup>90</sup> The call to community unity in the face of White racism resonates with a cross-section of African Americans, especially when invoked as a reminder of how Black critical voices are often used opportunistically by White audiences. On the other hand, as we will see in the political scandals involving Barry and Reynolds, calls for group unity are invoked to silence internal dissent and opposition among African Americans.

## **Mainstream Black Politics**

Critics may argue that the views expressed by Farrakhan and Karriem are merely those of extremists and not those of the majority of African

Americans. Likewise, some might suggest that controversies involving feminist artistic or scholarly work are exceptional instances of public debate. To the contrary, however, the gendered assumptions about racial conflict and community operative in nationalist writings and in the controversies involving feminist work are in fact representative of a certain popular form of Black nationalist thought, one that can be found even in popular political discourse. Below, I highlight three examples of the traitor trope in Black politics. Each of them showcases the metonymic understanding of racial community, where the interests of the community are associated with a prominent male figure. Each of them also involves the trope of the Black woman as traitor as a rhetorical strategy, that is, a Black woman is figured as the means through which Whites undermine the Black community through undermining its men. There are a variety of examples I could have chosen (some arguably more prominent, such as the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill debate); I examine the controversies involving Marion Barry, former mayor of Washington, D.C., and Mel Reynolds, one-time Congressman from Illinois, for two reasons. First, they are both elected officials, and so provide a good basis for comparison. Second, their cases offer interesting contrasts. In one, involving Marion Barry, the trope of the Black woman as traitor is explicit and centers on a drug-related, entrapment case. In the other, involving Mel Reynolds, this trope is implied and focuses on a sex-based criminal charge. In both cases, the argument that powerful Whites via Black women are harassing Black men is a key rhetorical strategy. The final example centers on Carol Moseley-Braun's entrance into the race for the Democratic nomination for the 2004 presidential race and the bold, though unsubstantiated claim, that she, at the behest of antagonistic Whites, usurped the rightful place of Al Sharpton in pursuing the nomination.

Marion Barry's political career spanned several decades and included involvement in social protest organizing as well as elected office. Barry served as an active member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee<sup>91</sup> and, therefore, arguably entered formal electoral politics with an added measure of political credibility and experience. As Jefferson Morley relates, he first came to elected office in 1971 as a school board member and was subsequently elected chair of the D.C. City Council in 1975. He gained political clout in 1975 by working to nix a tax proposed by then mayor Walter Washington. Just three years later he assumed the mayoralship, owing to a "coalition of civil rights activists, good-government liberals and gays. He had money from the business community and the endorsement of



*The Washington Post*.” During his first term, he was able to satisfy the business community and provide better social services to his mostly Black constituents. Throughout his tenure as mayor, Barry was seen as someone who was an advocate of Black political interests. He appealed to his constituents’ sense of Black racial identity to shore up his electoral standing. He was elected to a second and third term and, as Hilary Mackenzie notes, prior to his arrest in a sting operation, was planning to vie for a fourth.<sup>92</sup>

Electoral support notwithstanding, by his second term Barry’s public image was becoming increasingly tarnished by tales of public scandal, marital infidelity, and rumors of drug use. Barry’s patronage politics led to wide-scale corruption in his administration. More than ten of his appointees were convicted for taking government kickbacks.<sup>93</sup> One-time deputy mayor Ivanhoe Donaldson, for instance, stole approximately \$190,000.<sup>94</sup> A second deputy mayor under Barry, Alphonse Hill, “steer[ed] roughly \$300,000 in contracts to a friend’s auditing firm: Hill allegedly told one contractor that he routinely tacked on a fee for himself to city contracts that crossed his desk.”<sup>95</sup> In addition to these corruption scandals, Barry also was racked with persistent claims of drug use, a particularly damaging charge given that Barry was supposed to be leading the fight against the drug trade that was devastating D.C.’s Black and other minority communities. In December 1981, “allegations that Barry either had used cocaine at a Christmas party or been present while others did so” surfaced.<sup>96</sup> Then, in 1984, Karen K. Johnson, a Barry loyalist who had an extramarital affair with him between 1982 and 1983,<sup>97</sup> was jailed for contempt for refusing to testify about Barry’s alleged drug use.<sup>98</sup> The D.C. police, moreover, implicated the mayor in a December 22, 1988 drug investigation.<sup>99</sup> The police went to a Ramada Inn based on a tip they received revealing that Charles Lewis, a friend of Barry’s, attempted to force drugs on a maid there.<sup>100</sup> Upon arrival, they learned that Barry was supposedly in the hotel room in question and stopped their investigation.<sup>101</sup> Finally, Barry’s repeated extramarital affairs also scandalized him. In addition to Karen K. Johnson, Barry reportedly had extramarital affairs with Bettye Smith, “an employee of a city contractor,” and a string of other women.<sup>102</sup> Effi Barry, in fact, “acknowledged” his “wayward tendencies” and endured rumors of his straying throughout his public life.<sup>103</sup>

Whatever challenges Barry faced, the government never seriously threatened his career until his January 18, 1990 drug bust. Apparently piquing the interest of the U.S. Attorney’s office, the FBI pursued Barry’s friend Charles Lewis after the 1988 Ramada incident, eventually

nabbing Lewis on March 3, 1989, for selling cocaine to a federal agent. Lewis relayed to investigators the details of a March 1988 trip to St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, during which Barry, accompanied by a woman he called "R.C.," consumed drugs. The FBI learned that "R.C." was, in fact, model Hazel "Rasheeda" Moore, and tracked her down in California. Moore, like Lewis, ostensibly decided to cooperate in order to gain leniency regarding her own legal culpability.<sup>104</sup>

After ten years and over fifty million dollars spent tracking Barry,<sup>105</sup> the government eventually snared him in a setup featuring his former lover, Rasheeda Moore. On Barry's ill-fated day of reckoning, he was lured into Washington's Vista International Hotel, where, after making several spirited, but failed attempts to bed Moore, he had "two long drags of crack from a pipe before federal agents burst into the room."<sup>106</sup> All of these happenings were captured on film, and were widely aired throughout the D.C. area.

For government prosecutors, the sting operation on Barry was touted as part of a comprehensive effort to fight the war on drugs and to protect the public trust from improper leadership, but African Americans, in the main, were convinced that Barry was the victim of a racially targeted political assassination. As U.S. Assistant Attorney Richard Roberts proclaimed in his opening remarks, " 'This is a case about deceit and deception . . . While the defendant was preaching 'Down with dope!' in our community, he was putting dope up his nose.' " <sup>107</sup> Defense attorney Kenneth Mundy, however, saw and framed this case quite differently. For Mundy and others, Barry was the victim of a government conspiracy to discredit and disempower Black public officials.<sup>108</sup> This conspiracy is thought to run nationwide and is seen as a direct challenge to the voting power of African Americans. As former NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks remarked, " 'At no time since Reconstruction has there been a comparable period of incessant harassment of elected black officials . . . Overzealous, hostile—if not racist—district attorneys will bring a black official to trial on the flimsiest of evidence . . . ' " <sup>109</sup>

That there is some truth to these claims is fairly plain. The federal government spent more time and more money nabbing Barry than it did trying to unearth the culprits behind Iran Contra or a number of other scandals involving public officials during the same period; news coverage of the event was also arguably excessive. Furthermore, at least one study, by sociologist Mary Sawyer, noted Barry among seventy Black political leaders the government has worked to undermine politically.<sup>110</sup> From within this framework, many thought the

government's behavior overshadowed any wrongdoing on Barry's part. But, what is relevant for purposes of examining the trope of the Black woman as traitor is not the relative culpability of the government or Mayor Marion Barry, but the imperatives of racial community at work in the discourse around the sting operation and Barry's subsequent trial.

Barry and his supporters, including the Black press in D.C., used the emphasis on racial harassment to douse critical inquiry and analysis of the trial and to demonize Rasheeda Moore, the female friend who was pressured by federal officials into participating in the sting. As political activist and Black journalist Paul Ruffins contends:

With the mainstream media mired in racism and hype, Washington's black press had a great opportunity to bring to its audience the tragedy of how a once progressive activist had been so corrupted by power, blinded by hubris and dis-oriented by drugs that he gave his sworn enemies more than enough rope to hang him . . . in addition to breaking a complex, multi-dimensional story, the black media could have helped reform a corrupt bureaucracy and aided the community in setting new standards of accountability for its leadership. Unfortunately most of the city's black newspapers did no such thing.<sup>111</sup>

Three of Washington's six Black weeklies were lukewarm in their criticism of Barry, whereas the other three rallied around Barry, failing even to critically assess the "hypocrisy" involved in his drug use as one of the city's leading public figures in the so-called war on drugs. Setting aside the journalistic goal of objectivity (or, rather, airing and considering various opinions on a subject), Washington's Black press functioned as an "advocacy press," Ruffins contends, running headlines like, "'He's Still the Mayor' and 'Barry: Back, Brave, Better.'" As one editor, Barry Murray of *Capital Spotlight* put it, "I'm a nationalist and I just don't accept the idea that I should be bound by the same editorial standards as *The Washington Post* . . . ." As Murray's comments suggest, this "blind support" the media has for Barry is generated most directly by, "a bourgeois black nationalism that refuses to engage in critical analysis of black leadership."<sup>112</sup>

It is a Black nationalism that places a primacy on maintaining a united front against "racism," even at the expense of accountability from public officials and certainly at the expense of checking sexist tendencies within Black communities. An internecine battle raged throughout the debacle between Black members of Washington's Black and White press. The Black publishers helped to foster a climate of support for the mayor, making it tantamount to treason to raise any

criticism of Barry, however legitimate. Put another way, the imperatives of race within this nationalist framework deemed any criticism inappropriate in the face of the racism Barry's arrest was said to represent. As Ruffins explains, "[B]lack publishers have also fostered a climate of opinion in the black community that's hostile to black reporters who do criticize the Mayor. Just as some ghetto youths have convinced their peers that studying is 'acting white,' the black publishers are creating an atmosphere in which criticizing black leaders is considered white."<sup>113</sup> If criticism of Barry showed Black reporters to be inauthentically Black, participation in the sting operation by Rasheeda Moore showed her arm-in-arm with the Black nationalist archenemy.

Throughout the public scandal behind Barry's drug bust, Barry and his supporters displaced their criticism and antagonism toward the (White supremacist) state onto Rasheeda Moore. Vilified as a race traitor, no one took seriously Moore's suggestion that she participated in the sting operation out of concern for the city and for Barry's health.<sup>114</sup> Fewer still were sympathetic with her own victimization by the government; as previously noted, Moore was forced to cooperate with the police to address her own legal standing. Her claim that she ended the relationship with Barry in 1988 after he physically assaulted her<sup>115</sup> also failed to raise any eyebrows or concern about what the veracity of this claim could mean about the character of the man running the highest public office in the nation's capital. In fact, Moore was held in such contempt by most in the District, that people routinely encapsulated their feelings about the case in a quip they proudly wore on tee shirts and bumper stickers: "I saw the tape . . . the bitch set him up."<sup>116</sup>

Even when public officials do not instigate litigation through "entrapment," the trope of the Black woman as traitor may still be invoked. In a similar case involving former Illinois Congressman Mel Reynolds, Reynolds and others also claimed that the government was targeting a Black male elected official vis-à-vis a Black woman. In 1994, Beverly Heard, a one-time worker for Reynolds, went to the state's attorney's office, claiming that Reynolds engaged in sexual intercourse with her when she was sixteen and seventeen, below the Illinois statutory rape limit. According to Heard, the two first met in June 1992, when the Congressman "drove up to Morgan Park High School [where she was a student] and asked her to join his campaign." The two shared a meal at a restaurant, the East Bank Club, and a sexual relationship ensued. According to Heard's testimony, she and the Congressman had both oral and vaginal sex in various locations,

including his campaign office and an apartment Reynolds rented. She further averred that Reynolds “paid her sums of \$50 to \$100” on each occasion. Their relationship ended in November 1993 when Heard joined the U.S. Air Force.<sup>117</sup>

Heard later went to the authorities in 1994 because of harassing calls that Reynolds was purportedly making to her home, overtures that Heard feared would undermine her new relationship with friend and intimate, Karen Lawson.<sup>118</sup> The state’s attorney’s office subsequently taped conversations between Heard and Reynolds, in which Reynolds solicited child pornography and referenced sexual encounters at a time when Heard would have been under the legal age limit for sex with an adult.<sup>119</sup> In January 1995, however, Heard’s attorney, Reginald Turner, announced that Heard had officially recanted her charges, specifically stating that Heard fabricated the claim that she had sex with Reynolds when she was sixteen, “because she was pressured by authorities” into going forward with the case.<sup>120</sup>

While he admitted to having illicit phone sex with Heard, Reynolds consistently denied having intercourse with her, arguing that the state was out to malign his reputation. Prior to the trial, in an effort to undermine Heard’s allegations, Reynolds’ office issued a press release spotlighting Heard’s “sexual preference and Satanic worship.”<sup>121</sup> Then, in January 1995, when Heard’s one-time attorney Reginald Turner announced she had recanted her charges of sexual abuse, Reynolds openly questioned the prosecution’s refusal to drop the charges against him; he stated, “‘The question becomes are they (prosecutors) going after justice or are they going after me . . . .’”<sup>122</sup> Later that year, on the witness stand, Reynolds suggested that Heard was a spurned woman trying to “extort \$15,000 from him after he refused to accept her calls . . . .”<sup>123</sup> He acknowledged having dinner with Heard at the “exclusive Loop club,” but he insisted that they only had phone sex; he stated: “‘It’s a weakness and it’s something that’s safe.’”<sup>124</sup> Reynolds further maintained: “I don’t use condoms and I don’t care what anybody in this courtroom thinks about my morals. I was not going to bring Marisol (his wife), AIDS or (any other) sexually transmitted diseases . . . .”<sup>125</sup> Later, the prosecutors contradicted his suggestion that he would not have sex outside of marriage by showing nude shots of two women and getting him to acknowledge he had sex with them.<sup>126</sup> In response, Reynolds reaffirmed his claim that he was being harassed by the state’s attorney’s office, stating: “‘They [the prosecution] would get desperate to get to me . . . Anything I did and anyone I touched, they’d indict.’”<sup>127</sup>

The prosecution proceeded with the trial, despite Heard's recantation, on the basis of the taped phone conversations between Reynolds and Heard; they further argued that Reynolds had obstructed justice by trying to get Heard to disavow her claims of sexual assault. All told, Reynolds faced twelve different charges at trial: "three counts of criminal sexual assault, two counts of child pornography, three counts of aggravated criminal sexual assault, and four counts of obstructing justice."<sup>128</sup> Although difficult at times to hear despite "sound enhancement," the tapes nevertheless arguably recorded Reynolds referring to sexual encounters with Heard when she was under the statutory age limit for rape.<sup>129</sup> The prosecution was also able to provide testimony concerning Reynolds's efforts at obstructing the trial. They argued, among other things, that Reynolds dispatched Sara Rodriguez, a former Reynolds employee, to Tennessee to enlist Beverly Heard's mother, Barbara Ennis, to persuade her to recant her testimony.<sup>130</sup> They also argued that Reynolds, in violation of his bond agreement, made contact with Heard through her former attorney, Reginald Turner, developed plans for the recantation in consultation with Turner, and arranged a pay off to him through a third party.<sup>131</sup> The prosecution also put on testimony by Stephanie Adams, another woman who claimed the Congressman had sex with her when she was a minor, and who was reportedly offered money to buy her silence at trial.<sup>132</sup> Finally, after serving almost two weeks in jail on contempt charges, Heard testified to having sex with Reynolds, although she clearly stated she did not want him to go to jail.<sup>133</sup>

Although a jury convicted Reynolds on all charges and he was sentenced to five years in prison on charges of "criminal sexual assault, aggravated criminal sexual abuse, obstruction of justice and child pornography,"<sup>134</sup> Reynolds and his supporters consistently emphasized that he was the target of racially biased efforts to undermine Black elected officials. His attorney, Sam Adam, reiterated to the press during the course of the trial that he believed the state coerced Heard into fabricating her claim to have had sex with Reynolds; as the *Chicago Defender* relates, Adam, "mentioned alleged 'pressure' by the state on Heard to say she had sex with the congressman or they would reveal that she was a welfare recipient and had defrauded the system." (Ironically, Adam then went on to say, "I could have used [that against her to portray her as] insignificant, small and stupid. A cheat. But why?") Long-time Reynolds supporter Jesse Jackson also claimed that Reynolds was being unfairly targeted and mishandled. More specifically, Jackson, "accused State's Attorney Jack O'Malley of engaging in a 'witchhunt' by playing the Mel Reynolds porno tapes

that . . . resulted in screaming headlines.” Invoking Christian doctrine that states that “all of us have sinned,” Jackson asked Blacks to pray for Reynolds.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, Jackson noted that Heard was also in jail, suggesting that she too had done wrong, but failed to implore spiritual or community support on her behalf. Furthermore, *Jet*, like other Black publications, at times focused more on Heard’s lesbianism and her recantation, than the victimization of Heard by Reynolds and the state’s attorney’s office, which pressured Heard into testifying, keeping her in jail for twelve days.

As in the Barry case, discussions about Reynolds’s alleged misconduct trivialized, discounted, or dismissed the issues of sexual abuse and political accountability, focusing instead on the heroic personality of the Black male figure. Black historian and activist Barbara Ransby puts it best when she says that even Reynolds’s perspective (“that he engaged in phone sex with a teen-aged girl named Beverly Heard and had numerous covert rendezvous with her, but never touched her sexually . . .”) suggests that he “has broken a public trust.” According to Ransby, Reynolds was portrayed as the victim in this case, although it was Heard that was victimized by Reynolds, the public, the media, and the state’s attorney’s office. It was she who, “wanted help getting out of an exploitive relationship . . . [But] was pressured into a high-profile trial, which she was not—and could not be—prepared for . . . [And, it was] she [who] was hounded by reporters, threatened with prosecution, and jailed for twelve days.” Painting Heard “as wild, mentally unstable, sexually promiscuous, and willing to lie for attention and possibly money . . .,” the media downplayed the allegations as “harmless indiscretions.”<sup>136</sup> Here, as is often the case, the sexism of Black men is made irrelevant (commonplace? expected? negligible?). The nature and substance of the discourse around sexism in this case exposes the sexual politics at work in the BCPP and the commonplace notions of race and racial community with which it is associated, where harm against women is not taken seriously and the facade of the “Black family romance”—the notion that there is no conflict over sexual politics—is continually affirmed at all costs.<sup>137</sup> In line with the BCPP’s emphasis on the crisis of the Black male or Black male endangerment, raising issues of sexism, as in the Reynolds trial, is reduced to a means through which the government can attack Black men. In this way, women who expose or raise issues of sexism in the African American community play a traitorous role in providing fodder for the principal enemy of the race.

Whereas the scandals involving Barry and Reynolds highlight putative government attacks against Black men, the most recent public

controversy invoking the Black woman as traitor involves the entry of former senator Carol Moseley-Braun into the race for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Once a rising star in Democratic circles, Moseley-Braun initially garnered national attention in 1992 when she was elected as senator for the state of Illinois, the first Black woman to hold the distinction of being elected to the U.S. Senate.<sup>138</sup> Moseley-Braun's reelection bid failed, however, owing to controversies about her "misusing campaign funds . . . and cavorting with Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha . . . ." <sup>139</sup> After her Senate reelection defeat, President Clinton appointed Braun ambassador to New Zealand.<sup>140</sup> Controversy erupted in early 2003 when she belatedly announced her bid for the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 2004. Although almost no one saw Sharpton or Moseley-Braun as viable candidates for the nomination, some speculate that Sharpton hoped to garner enough of the Black vote in the primaries to increase his political clout and potentially impact Democratic Party politics.<sup>141</sup> Moseley-Braun's entry into the race was deemed a clear encroachment on Sharpton's presidential run.

Indeed, a number of reporters, columnists, and pundits have maintained, without direct evidence, that Moseley-Braun was drafted by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) to undermine Al Sharpton's bid for the Democratic nomination. William Schneider, CNN Senior Political Analyst, notes:

[Y]ou hear lots of gossiping rumors. I don't know if anybody has a foundation, but there are African-American and other Democratic leaders who do not want Al Sharpton to become the voice of the African-American constituency in the Democratic Party, as, for the most part, Jesse Jackson has been when he ran for president in the 1980s. They're concerned about that. And some are saying—and I don't hear any foundation for it—that Carol Moseley-Braun, the former senator, has been urged to run so that Al Sharpton will have some competition from the African-American vote . . . <sup>142</sup>

Similarly, Black pundit Salim Muwakkil quoted *Chicago Tribune* columnist Clarence Page as stating: " 'Party insiders see Moseley-Braun as their Great Black Hope to stop the rise of the Rev. Al Sharpton as a major player in the Democratic presidential sweepstakes.' " Muwakkil writes: "Aaron McGruder, the radical cartoonist, insists that the Rev. Al Sharpton's 'perm' prevents him from being taken seriously as a presidential candidate. But the DNC seems worried enough that they drafted a black woman, former Illinois Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, to dilute Sharpton's potential electoral



power.” Mary McGrory asserted in the *Washington Post* that Moseley-Braun “has the most clearly defined objective . . . to stop Al Sharpton.” According to Muwakkil, “The general outline of this conspiracy has Donna Brazile, manager of Al Gore’s 2000 presidential campaign, pulling the strings.” He argues that, “Moseley-Braun’s sudden entry into the fray does suggest she was drafted by higher political powers.” Most commentators suggest she was drafted by the DNC alone, but at least one news report, published in *The Bulletin’s Frontrunner*, argued that former Black presidential candidate Jesse Jackson also prodded her to enter the race to prevent Sharpton from “overshadowing Jackson.”<sup>143</sup>

Moseley-Braun and her supporters deny charges that she decided to run to undermine Al Sharpton’s bid. Moseley-Braun herself dismissed this suggestion as “‘silly.’”<sup>144</sup> Her spokesperson Kevin Lampe echoed this same sentiment, insisting that “‘No other candidate has entered into her decision-making . . .’”<sup>145</sup> And, while Donna Brazile acknowledged encouraging Moseley-Braun to run, she says it was because she thinks Braun can bring a different voice to the campaign.<sup>146</sup> David Bositis, a senior analyst for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, says “‘Donna Brazile has told Democrats to get a life about Sharpton, to stop treating him as if he was some kind of exotic species and engage him. She’s not just urging Moseley Braun to run she’s encouraging a lot of black candidates.’”<sup>147</sup> In the end, the full scope of factors that went into Moseley-Braun’s decision to run may remain unverifiable, but this is to a large extent beside the point.

What is notable about the discussion of her candidacy is the ease with which people suggest that she is essentially a pawn of the Democratic Party and the presumption that Sharpton has an a priori claim to being the sole candidate to articulate Black interests. To be sure, one can assert that he staked this claim by being first in the race. But, the language that people use and the assumptions they make about both candidates betray other dynamics at work. As Muwakkil explains, “There’s little mystery why some Democrats would be anxious to dilute Sharpton’s potential electoral power. Although there’s no chance he would ever be nominated, his appeal could garner enough delegates to force the DNC into some uncomfortable concessions.” Also, as Joel Siegel relates, Carl McCall, New York’s 2002 Democratic nominee for governor reportedly refused to support Moseley-Braun’s effort because he believed “her candidacy would undermine the candidacy of Al Sharpton—[who] can play an important role in the election . . . .”<sup>148</sup> It is unclear, however, why Sharpton would have been a more viable candidate for the presidency or would be the best person to represent Black interests.

While both Sharpton and Moseley-Braun have suffered from their involvement in well-publicized political scandals, Moseley-Braun is arguably more qualified than Sharpton to be president. Sharpton entered the national spotlight in the 1980s as a vocal champion of Tawana Brawley, a Black teenager who made allegations that she was raped and defiled by a group of White men; her story was later disproved and Sharpton was sued for defamation.<sup>149</sup> As noted above, Moseley-Braun's political capital was spent because of charges that she misappropriated funds and because of her meeting with Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha. Although Sharpton has greater name recognition (he has remained in the spotlight as an advocate for a variety of issues), he has run for, but never held, public office. Moseley-Braun, on the other hand, has held local and state offices in Illinois and served, as stated earlier, as U.S. senator from Illinois, and Ambassador to New Zealand.<sup>150</sup> Her experience in campaigning and holding office arguably made her more qualified than Sharpton to pursue the nomination and/or pursue a "power broker" role. Nevertheless, she was characterized as a "spoiler" and an "interloper,"<sup>151</sup> a willing pawn in the hands of adverse interests. She has been represented as a betrayer of the best interests of the Black community—in a word, a traitor.

These examples demonstrate how various actors in the Black community deploy nationalist conceptions of race and racial community that equate the tragedy of male figures with that of the race. This supports the BCPP's assumption of the prerogative of male leadership as an ideal, on the one hand, and a sense of wounded Black masculinity, on the other hand. The questioning of Moseley-Braun's political motives and the vilification of Heard, Moore, and the Black reporters who were critical of Barry as disloyal stems from what Anne duCille has dubbed the "'discourse of deference'—a nationalistic, masculinist ideology of uplift that demands female deference in the cause of empowering the race by elevating its men."<sup>152</sup> DuCille uses this term to describe the attitude of male literary critics to female authors who write about sexism, but the term is applicable here, as well, although we see that even other men are called to defer to the larger goal of "empowering the race by elevating its men."

## Conclusion

Utilizing a Black feminist frame of reference that focused on narrative analysis, I have shown that underlying all of these various expressions of the Black woman as traitor is a conception of racial community that

is deeply informed by nationalist ideology. Within the regnant view of African American politics in general and Black nationalism in particular, the notion of racial “community” is seen as the socio-political organization that provides a basis for connection between a large body of people who do not enjoy intimate association with all of its group members. Paradoxically, when we think about community it is either metonymically, through representative African Americans, or collectively as a “position in discourse,” that is, through grand narratives related to racial experience. Despite its emphasis on “race,” with race being understood as an all-encompassing experience that supersedes and is separable from other “categories” of identity, the popular view of racial community, as with nationalist conceptions of community, generally, is deeply masculinist.

This metonymic and collective understanding of community is a key feature of the BCPP. The plight of Black people is seen as coextensive with that of the males of the race, who are thought to be outside of their rightful position of not only authority, but control and deference. In previous chapters, I examined how the BCPP as a metanarrative was spun to focus on images of Black men and women in relationship to the family, that is, as Black Welfare Queens or Endangered Black Men. I also highlighted the promotion of middle class standards of respectability as it relates to the BCPP. In this chapter, I showed how the BCPP’s definition of community and emphasis on Black male endangerment gave rise to the image of the Black woman as traitor—the Black Malinche. Throughout this discussion one can see how dialogue about the Black family in general and Black women on welfare in particular are relevant, in terms of the analysis of several topics that I briefly discussed earlier in the chapter, specifically the Black Arts movement and Kamal Karriem’s and Louis Farrakhan’s perspectives.

Given metonymic and collective nationalist definition of racial community, it is unsurprising that the trope of the Black woman as traitor emerged along with the rise of Black nationalism and Black feminism in the 1960s and beyond. Black nationalist politics in the contemporary era has depended on an idea of racial community that names women and the Black female body as the boundary of the nation. Racism from this vantage point proceeds as a violation of the community through the literal and figurative violation of the Black woman. The Black woman is seen as being accomplice to this breach. Black nationalism, then, seeks to reclaim the Black woman as a means of countering racism. Black feminism, on the other hand, rejects the notion that women are to be controlled and aims to establish substantive equality for Black women. Logically, the production of Black feminist

art and scholarship generated conflict in Black communities because it challenged the basic assumptions of racial community upon which Black politics has generally operated. Also, Johnetta B. Cole and Beverly Guy-Sheftall argue that accusations of disloyalty on the part of Black women rose “as Black nationalism and feminism competed for hegemony within African American activist and intellectual circles.”<sup>153</sup> They explain: “A misogynist, Black-woman-as-traitor-to-the-race theme began to emerge, and this scapegoating of Black women for all of the race’s problems helped to fuel increased hostility between Black men and women.”<sup>154</sup>

Moreover, since common narratives about racial community hold men as representatives of the race, challenges to Black male public figures would be resisted rhetorically as racially motivated attacks. When those controversies involved Black women or claims of sexual harassment or rape as part of the named attack, then Black women were seen as betraying Black men and the entire Black community. Within these common narratives of racial community, Black men are seen as the true targets of racism and Black women are deemed a means of attack. The post-1965 political landscape brought Blacks new opportunities for election and for holding public office, but it would also provide new opportunities for public controversy and conflict. The emergence of the Black woman as traitor in Black political discourse was made possible by this confluence of factors in post-1965 Black politics. The continuing visibility of Blacks in the formal political arena, the growth of Black nationalist and feminist politics, and the rise of sex-based legal claims will likely provide additional fodder for the development of the Black Malinche figure in Black politics.

Feminists must challenge the trope of the Black woman as traitor, exposing the political work it accomplishes in subjugating women and undermining Black liberation politics. Chicana feminists, for instance, responded to nationalist writings about Malinche by developing their own counternarratives about her and what she symbolized. Where Chicano nationalists argued that Malinche betrayed her people to the Spanish, Chicana feminists “expos[ed] a prior betrayal of Malinche who had been sold into slavery by her own people.”<sup>155</sup> Likewise, although nationalist discourse positions Black women, generally, and those who fight against sexism, specifically, as race traitors, Black feminists must expose those who define race as a pure category unmarked by difference, conflict, or complexity as betrayers of the goal of full equality for all Black people. We must demonstrate that the politics and ideology that construct the Black Malinche figure are, in fact, the real act of betrayal.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Conclusion*

### *“When and Where I Enter”: Gender and Black Feminist Praxis in the Study and Interpretation of Black Politics*

I began this book by recounting my own entry point into the subjects that I discuss herein—the relationship between White and Black nationalisms, the importance of gender to contemporary nationalist politics, and the role of political narratives in shaping political discourse and public policy. I recounted how my initial concerns about depictions of Black families and welfare—particularly representations of Black women receiving welfare—confronted me with the need to understand political narratives. I was drawn to how a particular set of assumptions about the decline of the Black family, what I have referred to as the BCPP, became a pervasive, hegemonic metanarrative for understanding Black marginalization. These basic assumptions include: that Blacks have a sick or deformed culture that causes them to not have stable, two-parent families; that Black women who rebel against what are deemed proper female roles and traits are the root cause of what is wrong with Black families; that Black men are endangered, both through racism and through being undermined by Black women; and that Black people’s cultural depravity is the source of a host of problems, including poverty itself.

As this work demonstrates, the assumptions of the BCPP have been enduring, and have been the basis for a range of political activity, from marches, such as the Million Man March, to changes in the welfare system, to initiatives, such as the FBI, designed to morally rehabilitate poor U.S. citizens as a means of confronting poverty. I also note that, in thinking through these issues and writing this book, I have become convinced that there is a need to transform the frames of reference we use in the study of Black politics, particularly in political science, utilizing insights from feminist theory. I have also become persuaded that there is a great need to transform how we study Black politics methodologically, that is, a need to incorporate narrative analysis in our research.

In this closing segment, invoking an insight forwarded by Anna Julia Cooper, I extend my analysis by discussing the practical implications of the issues, problems, and questions I raise in the book both in terms of the immediate context of contemporary Black politics and how we study it. The nineteenth-century scholar-activist Anna Julia Cooper insisted on the relevance of race and gender in the analysis of Black politics and the articulation of a Black political agenda.<sup>1</sup> In responding to Black nationalist Martin Delany's suggestion that "when he entered the council of kings the black race entered with him," she penned an important, now-famous response: "Only the BLACK WOMAN can say 'when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole *Negro race enters with me*'" (emphasis in original).<sup>2</sup> Cooper's statement, of course, highlights the complexity of experience, regarding gender and race that is embodied in the experiences of Black women.

Here, I discuss "when and where I enter" along two dimensions. First, I discuss "when and where I enter" as a Black woman scholar presenting a feminist critique of Black nationalisms. In the tradition of critical race theory scholars, I analyze some of my own experiences in sharing my work and/or experiences that I have observed, as a means of testifying to the practical difficulties that attend knowledge production regarding gender and Black nationalism. Whereas some suggest that politics is "out there" beyond the ivory and ebony towers of education, academia is simply another site of politics, albeit with different boundaries, norms, and limitations. The politics that I examine in this book are mirrored, then, in the personal experiences of those who implement Black feminist frames of reference in their work. I assess how recurring rhetorical strategies I have encountered interface with the ironies of Black politics that I noted in chapter 1.

In addition to my own experiences, I discuss what it means "when and where" Black women as political actors and gender "enter" into our frames of reference for Black politics. What are some of the key implications of this work for the practice and study of Black politics? What are some of the ways of seeing that are enabled and issues brought to the fore, through the Black feminist analysis I provide here? I recount and amplify some of the key insights from my examination of gender, race, and nationalism in contemporary Black politics throughout the book, indicating the ways in which a Black feminist frame of reference makes a significant, positive, difference in analysis. And, finally, I relate questions for future research suggested by this study.

I argue here, as I have in various ways throughout this book, that a Black feminist frame of reference that utilizes narrative analysis offers a new field of vision from which to analyze Black politics, constructively challenges existing ways of studying Black political developments, and provides a basis for envisioning and enabling a more fully emancipatory Black political agenda.

## **Black Politics through a Black Feminist Frame of Reference**

As noted in chapter 1, this book, in its examination of gender, nationalism, and the BCPP, highlights several key ironies in Black politics. First, while Black nationalisms are typically seen as being routinely progressive and resistant to White racism, contemporary Black nationalisms have mirrored much of White nationalist rhetoric concerning gender and the family and what ails African America. Second, and in a related vein, the gender politics of the BCPP have formed the basis for both a dominant White nationalist discourse and a Black nationalist counter discourse. Third, Black politics is animated by a middle-class emphasis in that is driven by a quest to achieve middle-class notions of respectability in terms of Black manhood and womanhood in the development of two-parent, patriarchal homes. Finally, Black politics is marked by an ongoing refusal of Black feminist politics, that is, a failure to recognize the mutually constitutive nature of identity and a neglect of the need to have politics broadly defined to deal with this reality, both in the practice and study of Black politics.

I have encountered these ironies in my own life as I have shared my research in various professional settings, in ways that highlight the obvious difficulties in doing this work. Below I briefly discuss examples of four of the common rhetorical strategies with which I have been confronted, including: Shock and Awe, Deny and Deflect, Community Policing Argument, and Feminism as Foreign Ideology. The set of tactics and strategies I discuss below is by no means exhaustive; I only highlight some of the recurring narrative themes. I consider them, therefore, not as some new development (this has been par for the course for Black feminists) or to register surprise (although, for the uninitiated, dealing with these rhetorical strategies can be mind boggling at first), but to contribute to clarifying the narrative modes of resistance deployed when Black feminists engage issues concerning nationalism and to highlight how the politics we critique in other domains surfaces in academic contexts. I also present these rhetorical



strategies to raise questions, as I do below toward the end of this conclusion, about how these rhetorical strategies threaten to negatively condition our knowledge production. The first two rhetorical strategies I discuss, “Shock and Awe” and “Deny and Deflect,” relate to the first two ironies of Black politics I identify, that is, that the BCPP is deeply conservative, and that it has been the foundation of White and Black nationalisms in the contemporary era.

### *Homeland Security of the Afrocentric Kind: The Shock and Awe Program*

When Black feminist scholarship is presented to Black audiences (even of diverse backgrounds), contention is not the exception but the norm. Of course, all intellectual work, if it means anything, comes at a cost. To put one’s ideas in the public domain for consumption necessarily entails risk. And, when people collide over values and issues of serious concern, one should expect conflict. The frequency, scope, and nature of the criticism of Black feminism, however, particularly when it involves critiques of nationalism, distinguish it from most academic engagement. In fact, not only is feminism hotly contested in such spaces, as I will relate in the examples that follow, it is often challenged in ways that break with the academic conventions of scholarly discourse, in what I refer to as the Shock and Awe strategy.

In this light, one of the most memorable debates about gender and Black nationalism I experienced was a two-part exchange, totally unplanned, that I had with a senior Black professor (hereafter “Professor Y”). The first part of the exchange occurred at a university at which I was invited to give a talk. I presented some of my work that dealt with the sexual politics of the Nation of Islam. The person who was assigned to introduce me, a longtime leader of a little known but resilient Black nationalist organization, was noticeably late for the talk. Just as someone else was about to officially welcome me, he walked in and was ever so politely asked to come forth to fulfill his duties. I got the impression that he was purposefully late (I saw him casually walking toward the chapel through a glass door in the rear of the room), and had hoped to miss what for him must have been an unpleasant task. The person who planned the talk, however, was even more senior than he and prevailed on him to complete his assignment. He pushed through what was a very awkward introduction. I gave my talk and then came the typical question and answer period. Or, so I thought. The professor who introduced me took to the rostrum (literally

the lectern to my left) and began an impromptu critique of my analysis. Standing there on opposite ends of the stage, we were well set for a debate format (presidential style). He critiqued feminism in general and my treatment of the Nation of Islam in particular. I tried to interject. He cut me off and continued. A little later, I tried to speak up again. He bulldozed forward. Finally, I firmly stated, "Professor Y, I have politely waited and listened to everything that you have said, and the least you can do is let me respond." My patience proved to be a good tactic—the crowd broke out in applause. I responded and eventually moved on to questions from the audience.

Our second encounter occurred a few weeks later at a conference. This time I was slated to present a paper on the same panel as Professor Y. His paper dealt with women in the organization that he headed. He was accompanied by a female coauthor. (I did not remember her being mentioned as coauthor on the original panel listing and wondered if she had been brought along to lend him greater credibility.) The other members of the panel included another Black feminist who was presenting a critique of White feminist theory, two discussants (one male and one female, both nationalists), and the organizer of the panel, the same "more senior" female professor who had brought me in to do the talk at her college a few weeks earlier. A comment here is necessary about how I usually handle presentations at conferences. I bring a stopwatch in order to keep myself on track. I use it to time others and myself (mostly to keep time, but partly to keep me alert, especially for those early morning panels). On this day, the panel chair was late due to a room mix-up, so we had less time than usual for our individual presentations. The panel chair told us all our allotted time, and then began. Professor and coauthor Y spoke first, then my Black feminist comrade, and then myself. Both of the other presenters spoke a little longer than their allotted times, which is typical for us academics. I began my presentation. I spoke without notes for part of it, and read quotes as well. About eight minutes into my comments, Professor Y turned to me with his finger pointing angrily in my direction, and loudly said, "she's gone over her time." I turned, pointing assuredly at my ticking stop watch and informed him of exactly how long he spoke, how long I had been speaking, and that I had two minutes left. The moderator told me "take 2 more," which I did. The discussants both spoke favorably of the other two essays. One called both of them "necessary bread," in fact. Mine apparently was chopped liver. The male discussant had a list of critiques, concerns, and questions about my presentation. The other said that she found my paper a disappointment because my paper was titled "Gender, Nationalism,

and the Politics of Black Liberation,” and she stated, among other things, that she failed to see how it dealt with nationalism or Black liberation. In the end, none of the panelists got to respond to the discussants, as the “more senior” panel chair stated that we would have no question and answer period because of the lateness of the hour.

These examples may seem exceptional to some, but they are not uncommon when issues concerning the gender politics of nationalism are broached in academics settings. The discomfort associated with dealing with feminist dialogue on Black nationalism moves some to transgress basic standards of academic conduct and decorum to respond to or disrupt feminist commentary. This parallels the reticence and resistance to dealing with gender in politics that we observe in other domains.

### *Evasive Maneuvers: The Deny and Deflect Strategy*

The Deny and Deflect strategy is another approach related to the first two ironies of Black politics I discuss. If conversation about nationalisms’ gender politics cannot be shut down or adumbrated, then some sidestep the difficulties inherent in such conversations by redefining nationalism. It is essentially an evasive maneuver, what one might also call plausible deflectability. Just as presidents and those close to them develop some bases (at times outlandish) for deflecting criticism by suggesting that they were not aware of key information or not in on certain decisions, those who oppose gendered assessments of nationalism will at times try to disarm critics by finding some grounds to deflect criticism. One discussant from a panel, for instance, argued that the Nation of Islam was a religious as opposed to a political group. This argument was aimed at undermining my entire analysis by excising the discussion of gender, nationalism, and the Nation of Islam from the realm of the political. I asked her if the Nation of Islam was any less religious when Malcolm X was its spokesperson; she had no response. Theology and politics are indeed deeply related, and the Nation of Islam’s politics is expressed through its theological worldview; that its framing is theological makes it no less political. A member of the audience from this same panel also forwarded a similar claim during a conversation we had in the hallway after the panel session. He made the

bold statement that the Nation of Islam was not a nationalist organization, to which I noted that (aside from the obvious implications of the organization's name) every major analyst of contemporary Black nationalism classifies it as a nationalist organization and the designation is warranted given the substance of its politics.

Both the Shock and Awe and Deny and Deflect strategies exemplify the difficulty some have in engaging critical commentary on the gender dynamics of Black nationalist politics. They resonate with the first of the two ironies of Black politics I identify, again, because thinking about the conservative nature of Black nationalisms or how they are centrally configured by assumptions about gender (e.g., appropriate male and female roles and behavior in and outside of the family) contradicts the caricatured presentation of nationalism as progressive. As I noted at the outset of this book, Dean Robinson explains that there is a tendency to think of Black nationalisms as consistently resistant to White mainstream norms and politics and to impute a transhistorical character to Black nationalisms.<sup>3</sup> He notes, among other things, that the image some hold of Black nationalisms as being consistently opposed to mainstream politics, specifically in terms of opposing integrationism, is an artifact of political discourse on Black nationalism by academics and nonacademics produced during the height of Black nationalism in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Scholars were working to distill and codify a Black nationalist legacy in the past in order to affirm and advance Black nationalist politics of the day.<sup>5</sup> But, as I have discussed throughout this book, the work of a growing body of scholarship by scholars such as Robinson, Adeleke and E. Frances White, among others, exposes Black nationalisms' weddedness to White nationalisms. What I have documented in *Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics* contributes to this body of work by detailing how a masculinist gender politics, envisioned and produced through narratives shaped by racial and class assumptions, is what joins Black and White nationalists in the current era through the end of the twentieth century, and the beginning of the twenty-first.

My analysis of gender, class, race, and nationalism in this book provides numerous examples that underscore the necessity of introducing a Black feminist frame of reference that takes analysis of political narratives into account. When the analysis of gender "enters" into discussions of Black politics—that is, an analysis that sees racial politics as articulated through the boundaries of gender, and class—then we can understand the BCPP as a metanarrative that

ultimately serves to justify Black oppression by blaming Blacks for their own plight. We can understand the BCPP, most importantly, as a hegemonic discourse that facilitates ongoing backlash and retrenchment following the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, as I have previously noted, dominant narratives, such as the BCPP, frame political discourse in ways that focus attention, displace and discredit counter-narratives, mediate our very understanding and interpretation of the social and political world, and provide a basis for political action.

With the BCPP we saw all of these features of dominant narratives or frames at work. The BCPP focuses our attention on the decline of two-parent, patriarchal families and the images of miscreant Black women as Welfare Queens and/or traitors, and Endangered Black Men. The BCPP sets our sights on rectifying the assumed moral depravity and dysfunctions of Black people. Though it arrests our attention in certain ways, the BCPP discounts and circumscribes alternative explanations of Black suffering, specifically as it relates to institutionalized racism. As I have shown, Black organizations and leaders are able to identify and resist racism as it relates to voting or civil rights enforcement, but not fully in terms of attacks on the family and other things associated with the BCPP. Gender in such cases serves as a blind spot, because our definition of racism does not adequately take into account how it is elaborated through gender politics. Finally, the BCPP has served as a practical basis for action along a number of fronts, from conducting marches and setting up Afrocentric, all male schools, to implementing policy that ultimately hurts the poor and undermines the legacy of the Civil Rights movement.

Significantly, the history of the triumph of the BCPP in the latter part of the twentieth and early part of the twenty-first century is not only that it was propagated by a White nationalist project, served to challenge the ongoing quest for social justice, and enabled racist retrenchment, but that it was propagated by Black nationalists and other Black constituencies, served to challenge the quest for gender and class equality in African America, and facilitated sexist retrenchment in Black communities. To the extent that Black nationalists have contributed to the legitimization of the BCPP, albeit with different motivations than their White nationalist counterparts, they have supported the racial order they desire to unmake. This complex history is made visible “when and where” gender enters into the equation, “when and where” a Black feminist frame of reference centered on narrative analysis is brought to bear.

The rhetorical strategies of Shock and Awe and Deny and Deflect subvert and/or temper this type of inquiry.

### *Feminism as Foreign Ideology: The Frontal Attack*

The Frontal Attack and Community Policing Argument tactics are two additional rhetorical strategies, and tie most directly to the last two ironies of Black politics, specifically: that the BCPP symbolizes gender and class cleavages, disrupting simplistic notions of racial unity, and that the BCPP represents an ongoing evasion of Black feminist politics. As I discussed in chapter 4, most often, feminist scholarship is attacked directly as an alien political ideology introduced to distract Blacks from the preeminent threat of racism. This argument surfaced prominently, of course, in the infamous debate over Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. Those who ply this particular argument often have difficulty comprehending feminist claims or reluctantly acknowledge the reality of sexism without allowing for any significant change in their theoretical perspective, worldview, or political action. Two exchanges in particular come readily to mind, as instances in which the frontal attack rhetorical strategy was repeatedly employed. In the first example, I carried on a heated exchange with one professor who attended a conference panel I participated in as a presenter. Much of the discussion during this panel happened to turn toward the Million Man March, given some of the comments made by another panelist. My own presentation was on a totally unrelated topic, although I did offer my opinions about the March. This gentleman and I continued to discuss the March, and our arguments were like the proverbial ships passing in the night. He liked what I said about the topic I presented, but not what I said about Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. I talked about the nature of Farrakhan's gender politics, highlighting the substantive import of his men's only speeches used to publicize the March. He rejoined, stating, "But Farrakhan had women's meetings, too." After trying to explain the distinction between sex and gender, the conversation continued to devolve. We clashed over many issues. Things came to a head when he flatly stated that I was "carrying the water" for White women, by pushing a feminist critique.

The second example involved the privilege I had of sitting in for a professor who could not attend a conference because inclement weather derailed his travel plans. The panel featured scholars whose

work centered on gender and Black nationalism. The excerpt from the paper I read was analytically strong, eloquently written, and presented a critique of the gender politics of the Nation of Islam. One of the other panelists presented his work on the Black male crisis, and a third shared her research on a popular Black nationalist organization from a previous era, highlighting, among other things, the ways in which the organization argued against interracial sex as a means of “protecting” racial purity. They each provided trenchant critiques and sophisticated analyses. The audience’s reaction was, at best, spirited, and at worst, down right vitriolic.

Although there was much debate, a few choice examples stand out in my mind. One audience member, for instance, provided a colorful example of the Feminism as Foreign Ideology strategy, commenting on the futility of Black feminist perspectives in general, he stated that it was illogical to assume that White people in the “big house” would leave to help those in the “slave house.” Others questioned the usefulness of scholarship that critiqued the political focus on the Black male crisis. “Weren’t Black men truly endangered?” One commentator, in response to one panelist’s paper, suggested that protecting the purity of the race was a valuable and legitimate political goal. Several people left. One person left angrily at the end, punctuating his exit with a few choice words, and a dismissive hand gesture. Together, the presenters, discussant, chair, and a few audience members put up a good fight. I was humbled and honored to be a part of such a group. I was heartened to learn of this exciting work and to meet these scholars, but the whole thing was at the same time distressing. In the end, I remember thinking that trying to explain sexism to some Black nationalists is like trying to explain worker exploitation to a capitalist. We just have totally different takes on the world.

### *The Community Policing Argument*

Another strategy invoked to disrupt feminist discussions of nationalism is the Community Policing Argument, so named because it uses the mantle of community to police or survey the boundaries of inclusion in the African American homeland. There are several popular variations of this Community Policing Argument. One rendition critiques work because it is not in the interests of the community, community aims and goals being “transparently” known to all concerned. A second popular version occurs when people justify their arguments as being supported by people “in the community.” Finally, a third

version weighs feminism in the balance and finds it lacking because it is not useful to those academics who work “in the community.” (One discussant, in an effort to make a final dismissive claim against my ideas, for instance, argued that my work was not informed by or relevant to those, like herself, who do work “in the community.”) All of these packagings of the Community Policing Argument reflect a conception of community that is a function in no small part of the legacy of the Black Power origins of Black Studies.

There are three ideas rooted in Black Power ideology that continue to shape Black Studies research and teaching. The first key idea that Black Studies has retained from its Black Power origins is the notion of a monolithic Black community.<sup>6</sup> Black Power ideology not only projected a vision of a Black community under siege by a hostile White community, but one whose interests were overwhelmingly defined by racial concerns. Predictably, this flat, static, and simplistic view of Black people left little room for contention or critique and has remained a key stumbling block to analysis of Black politics.<sup>7</sup> Second, as Adolph Reed, Jr., has shown, Black Power’s projection of a monolithic Black community affirmed the idea of elite representation of community interests (already prevalent before the Civil Rights and Black Power movements), facilitating an increased system maintenance role for the Black middle class, and reduced “Black particularity” to “commodity form” and political action to expressions of unity.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Black Studies remains wedded to using the calling card of community in large part because of Black Power’s equation of the “real” or authentic Black community with those most economically deprived. This idea stems in part from a solid commitment to supporting political activism and assisting the most marginalized members of our communities, but it is also, as Wahneema Lubiano observes, a reflection of the middle-class anxieties of Black Power advocates.<sup>9</sup> As she explains in relationship to Black aesthetic production and commentary in the Black Arts movement (“the cultural arm of Black Power”):

This romanticizing of themselves [as Blacks who work in the interest of the most oppressed] gave and continues to give added impetus to black middle-class cultural workers “making” a (generally) masculinist and heterosexist black national subject who is always working-class or poor. Such a subject, once created, reflects his (and I use the pronoun advisedly) politically resonant glow back onto the non-working-class warriors who articulate him and his agenda. In other words, the middle-class black cultural workers whose articulations create the black subject not only ally themselves with the economically and politically



most dominated of the group, they use that subject to stand in for the whole group. Doing so allows them to avoid coming to terms with the complexity of their own class standing and its history. They “become” what they articulate.<sup>10</sup>

From this context, speaking for, working in the interests of, or doing service in “the community,” aside from whatever else it may involve, is part of the ongoing negotiation of some Black academics’ middle-class anxieties. This is especially acute given that Black academics are often read as being, by reason of their occupational status, as outside of the community.<sup>11</sup>

Taken together, the Frontal Attack and Community Policing Argument strategies suggest that when Black female scholars identify as feminists, they take on an alien ideology and they are explicitly or implicitly charged with not working in the interests of the Black community. To put it bluntly, they are effectively excommunicated. Of course, as I discuss in chapter 4, the projection of a monolithic racial community is a political act, one that denies the class and gender assumptions and politics that are shot through Black communities. The banner of monolithic racial community veils the masculinist priorities embodied in this definition of community. Black feminists, like those of the historic Combahee River Collective, have always shaped their politics with the interests of Black men and women in mind and with a broad, heterogeneous conception of community.<sup>12</sup> Because of Black feminists’ commitment to the political advancement of Black people as a whole, it is difficult to imagine that the censure represented by the Frontal Attack and Community Policing Arguments would not condition the nature and extent of Black female criticism.

The Frontal Attack and Community Policing Strategies are also problematic because the BCPP affirms the view that the most marginalized in Black communities are the bearers of Black authenticity, in the way that Lubiano describes. Through its role in legitimizing the BCPP, the Black middle class continues in its “expanded system maintenance” role, as Reed describes, through the propagation of middle class norms surrounding acceptable male and female roles and behaviors in two-parent homes. In chapter 3, I discussed how George W. Bush’s FI embodied this middle-class emphasis in Black politics, for instance, in its promotion of middle-class Black males as role models for their less economically fortunate brethren. “When and where” a Black feminist frame of reference that uses a constitutive model of identity and focused on narrative analysis “enters in,” a more complex array of political dynamics come into view. Black constituencies

emphasize Black uplift through promoting a more stable family and morally upright culture. This emphasis on Black uplift by Blacks, including nationalists, is entangled with efforts of White nationalists to disown responsibility for social and political ills and forestall corruption of the nation by eradicating it among Blacks.

## Key Insights and Areas for Future Research

In what follows I summarize some of the key insights of this book, and then note questions that remain and/or areas for future research. I did not set out to present an exhaustive treatment of Black nationalism in the contemporary era, but to provide an in depth investigation of the politics of gender, race, class, and nation as it relates to the metanarrative of the BCPP. My work complements existing work on nationalisms, political ideology, and public policy, generally, and research in political science that adopts Black feminist themes, in particular. It typifies the type of scholarly vision that is enabled by Black feminist frames of reference, and models the type of positive engagement made available “when and where” gender enters the analytical equation in the consideration of Black politics.

One of the key insights to emerge from my examination of gender, race, and nationalism in the contemporary era is the critical need for interdisciplinary perspectives that disrupt traditional political science approaches to conducting research and producing critical social theory. Quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches alone cannot account for the narrative and cultural dimensions of politics. The interdisciplinary approach I adopt integrates political science concepts and theories with those from Women’s Studies and Black Studies, as well as Cultural and Legal Studies, through an emphasis on narrative analysis. In chapter 1, I discussed the need for a new Black feminist frame of reference to guide the study of Black politics in political science. While other fields, most notably English and History, have advanced in terms of thinking about gender and about Black women as political subjects, the feminist revolution—and the Black feminist revolution especially—has been late in coming to political science, as other scholars such as Rose Harris and Julia Jordan-Zachery have also observed.<sup>13</sup> Only a smattering of scholars have been employing intersectional approaches to political science over the years; however, more Black feminists are entering the field and this is drawing this

conversation out in a more sustained fashion. I argue, following the work of McClintock, Fernandes, and Harris, that a constitutive, as opposed to intersectional, model provides the best language and theoretical lens for addressing the relationship among gender, race, and class. The constitutive model invites a view of race, class, and gender as mutually generative. It refines the descriptive project represented by intersectional approaches, since the language of intersectionality inherently suggests cordoned off categories that overlap or as the name suggests intersect.

In chapter 1, I also elaborate my theory of how the BCPP operates as a framing device. Like most dominant metanarratives, the BCPP frames our understanding of political events, discourse, and policy and involves common storylines (in this case centered around decline and control and helplessness) as well as victims and villains. I indicated the pliability of this narrative in its circulation and pointed out that different elements or flash points within the narrative could be emphasized at different times and in different ways in specific contexts or discourses. Given this, I affirmed the need to read metanarratives such as the BCPP both intertextually and intratextually. Intertextually, one must read from text to supertext, that is, one must read a specific event, discourse, or policy as a text (broadly defined) against the backdrop of metanarratives or supertexts, like the BCPP. Intratextually, one reads different elements or flashpoints within the BCPP metanarrative against each other. The Black Welfare Queen and the Endangered Black Male, two central figures of the BCPP metanarrative, cannot be fully comprehended in isolation from each other. In narratives based on the BCPP, for instance, the Endangered Black Male emerges not only as a result of racism, but also specifically as a result of being reared by female heads of households, most notably Black Welfare Queens. The same intratextual reading can be done for events, discourse, and policy that correspond to one or more elements or flashpoints within the BCPP metanarrative. In chapter 3, for instance, I demonstrate how the FBI and the FI, two seemingly disparate policy efforts, both stem from Compassionate Conservatism, George W. Bush's version of the BCPP. Using framing theories and concepts from public policy, cultural studies, and social movement literature, I argue that the BCPP is a narrative frame marked by gender, class, and race that not only engenders rhetorical support, but serves as an action frame in the implementation of public policy.

In chapter 2, I discussed how Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* anticipated arguments about Black nationalisms' weddedness to mainstream, White U.S. nationalism and

about Black nationalisms' adoption of the gender politics of U.S. nationalisms as well. I then go on to show how the patriarchal macho she named as one of two forms of Black macho (the other being a narcissistic macho which was particularly prominent in the Black Power movement) gained currency in the contemporary era via the BCPP. I explain how the BCPP emerged as a metanarrative whose gender, class, and racial politics provided the basis for a White nationalist discourse, as well as a Black nationalist counter discourse. With the BCPP, Black people form the constitutive outside, the negative boundary of inclusion for the nation within White U.S. nationalism, even as the Black underclass, with their putatively degenerate morals and dilapidated family structure, form the constitutive outside for the Black community or nation. I show how the BCPP led to the Million Man March, and, therefore, how this event as a social text must be read in relationship to the supertext of the BCPP.

In chapter 3, I explored the relationship between nationalism and the state, arguing that through its legitimating of the BCPP, Black nationalists contributed to facilitating public policy during George W. Bush's presidency. I discuss how Bush's FBI and FI stem from Compassionate Conservatism, which is simply another manifestation of the BCPP. I also note that Bush's initiatives were grounded in the groundswell of support and ideology behind the changes in the historic Welfare Reform of 1996, pointing out that just as Booker T. Washington, a nationalist from another era, affirmed the accommodationist politics of the day in a fateful speech the year before *Plessy v. Ferguson* (the decision that legalized segregation), so too did Black nationalist Louis Farrakhan present an important speech at a landmark political event, the Million Man March, that represented an accommodation to the pernicious ideology that justified Welfare Reform a year later in 1996. In this chapter I showed how the BCPP operated not only as a rhetorical frame that builds support, but an action frame for shaping public policy. Intertextually, I link these two policies as texts to the supertext of the BCPP. Intratextually, I consider how they correspond to different, but related elements or flashpoints within the BCPP metanarrative.

Part of what I demonstrate throughout this chapter is that these two policies—the FBI and FI—represent an undemocratic, self-help politics that supports devolution of responsibility for the poor to state and local communities. I also consider the extent to which George W. Bush's use of the FBI to court high-profile, conservative, Black ministers in order to win Black votes undermines the status of Black elected officials. I argue that Bush's initiatives attack the legacy of the Civil Rights

movement in two ways, by disaffirming the prerogative of Blacks to make demands on the state, and by sidestepping the power and representative authority of democratically elected Black legislators. I also raise questions about the need to re-think the binary opposition many still hold between nationalist and integrationist politics, as both of these camps were joined in their support of the BCPP.

Finally, in chapter 4 I examine the trope of the Black woman as traitor. This representation of Black women also emerges from the frame of the BCPP metanarrative. The BCPP suggests that Black men are especially endangered because they are the special target of racism via the state and because Black women usurp their position. The BCPP has been used to justify calls for Black male authority in the home and by extension, Black communities. I outline the development of this representation of the Black woman as traitor, what I also refer to as the Black Malinche, drawing from the female traitor figure within Lainto/a culture. I suggested that the traitor figure emerged particularly during the Black Power era as a response to the rise of Black feminism, tracing the articulation of the trope of the Black woman as traitor through orthodox nationalist thinking to debates about Black feminists as traitors to political imbroglis involving Black male elected (or would be elected) officials. Here, I continued my examination of Black nationalisms' relationship to the state by noting the ways in which the state figures as an important actor in Black nationalist narratives. I explore how the monolithic notion of racial community is conceived metonymically, where Black men stand in for the Black community, and as a position in discourse, where the whole Black community is positioned as an actor set in grand narratives about Black triumph. I denote several assumptions central to nationalism-inflected representations of the Black woman as traitor, one of the most notable being that racial strife is enacted in a battle through the males of each race. I point out that the politics that construct the Black Malinche are in fact the true betrayal, as it undermines the well-being of Black women by disregarding the sexism they suffer and curtails progressive Black politics.

There are a number of questions and issues for future research suggested by this study. First, attention needs to be given to how metanarratives such as the BCPP develop, operate, and mature over time. The BCPP has been a flexible frame. In chapter 2 I showed how it gave rise to Black and White nationalist politics in general, and the Million Man March in particular. In chapter 3 I showed how the specific frames drawn from the BCPP shifted, focusing in on different elements of the narrative in terms of the FBI and FI. In chapter 4 I examined

another instance of frame shifting in which the element of Black male endangerment developed in a unique way to produce representations of Black women as traitors. As a hegemonic, metanarrative the BCPP, much like a living, breathing organism, adapts and reshapes itself to fit the exigencies of particular time periods, contexts, and constituencies. Given this, it necessary to consider how the BCPP has insinuated itself into different contexts, particularly in cultural production, such as movies, music, and art. Also, transnational feminist analyses are necessary to consider the deployment and articulation of the BCPP globally. Black feminist political scientist, Eudine Barriteau, among others, has traced the development of a male marginalization thesis in the Caribbean, for instance.<sup>14</sup> Keisha Lindsay has examined the development of the Black male crisis thesis in not only the United States, but also in the United Kingdom.<sup>15</sup> What are the parallels and discontinuities in these narrative political formations? What accounts for the development of similar narratives regarding wounded Black masculinity in these different cultural contexts? To what extent does the circulation of narratives reinforce and/or transplant gender ideologies cross-culturally?

A second thing that we must consider has to do with how we read discourses, events, and public policies. For instance, reading individual policies within their nested context, in relationship to dominant political narratives, can enable a more comprehensive understanding of how particular policies relate to each other in terms of larger political currents. As previously noted, the FBI and FI and the Compassionate Conservatism from which they sprang, undermined the legacy of the Civil Rights movement. In this way, the BCPP further develops the racist retrenchment represented by the Reagan era. It is necessary, therefore, to investigate how the prophetic role of the church to “speak truth to power” is compromised by the FBI. Furthermore, more generally, how have Black churches’ support for the BCPP undercut their ability to resist the dominant, racist politics of the day? It is notable that Bush targets pastors of well-known mega churches, such as Clarence McClendon and Floyd Flake. To what extent are particular type of churches, including mega churches, or particular denominations, more supportive of or resistant to BCPP thinking?<sup>16</sup> What are the most effective strategies that can be implemented to stop the erosion of support for Black elected officials? What are the counter-hegemonic readings of the Bible that can be usefully engaged to counteract BCPP thinking in Black communities? How can more expansive, leftist readings of politics and the Bible, and a new Black feminist theology, be usefully deployed in such contexts?<sup>17</sup>

Third, we must also investigate what the broad support for the BCPP can teach us about contemporary Black ideology. As noted in chapter 3, individuals and organizations defined as integrationist or nationalist support the BCPP, disrupting the dichotomy we usually take these two ideologies to represent. These two ideologies are often treated as binary opposites, although they are often joined in their gender politics, as with the BCPP. That they are defined as binary opposites and assigned different valuations is likely a function of the same type of Enlightenment thinking that creates such formulations as good/bad and/or rationality/emotion and maps them onto man/woman and/or Black/White. In this way, the continuing projection of integrationism and nationalism as binary opposites is another analytical borrowing from mainstream Western culture.

Fourth, given the importance of frames to politics, how can we more broadly incorporate their consideration into analysis of Black politics? Events such as the Million Man March or policies like the FBI cannot be adequately understood outside of their related frames. The 2006 Millions More Movement, a gathering that marked the ten-year anniversary of the Million Man March, provides a perfect example of the critical importance of analyzing framing in politics. Using frame alignment theory to investigate social movements and/or political events, we can understand the framing of the Million Man March's anniversary as a "Millions More Movement," as frame amplification and frame extension, re-naming or re-framing designed to draw greater support and legitimacy. Frame amplification entails highlighting how an organization's beliefs and values resonate with would be supporters, whereas frame extension involves extending or enlarging an organization's issues or concerns to attract more support. The Millions More Movement would seem to suggest an event that fixed all of the handicaps of the original 1995 Million Man March. Where the Million Man March focused on Black male atonement, was not followed by political activism, and did not put forward a specific political agenda, the Millions More Movement, through its naming, seemed to imply a broader focus. Unlike the Million Man March, the Millions More Movement included women and held out the promise of political activism.

The success of the event and the nature of its supporters suggest that the Nation of Islam's efforts at frame alignment were successful. A number of individuals, including political activists, such as Al Sharpton and Jesse L. Jackson, and entertainers, such as music producer Russell Simmons, hip-hop artist Kanye West, and singer Eryka Badu, supported the Millions More Movement. Likewise, a number of

organizations, as well as established civil rights groups, supported the event, including, but not limited to: the Congressional Black Caucus, the Nation of Islam, the National Black United Front, the National Council of Negro Women, the New Black Panther Party, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Urban League, and the Progressive National Baptist Convention. Economist and political commentator Julianne Malveaux, a vocal critic of the Million Man March, acted as an emcee for the event.

The politics of the Millions More Movement, however, is no departure from the gender, race, or class politics of the Million Man March. The Millions More Movement commemorated the Million Man March as a positive occurrence in Black politics and, hence, affirmed the messages of the event. The Million Man March tenth Anniversary Statement, for instance, states “it is proper that we seize this moment in time, recapture the spirit of the million man, women, youth and family marches, and make the necessary sacrifice to *save ourselves and our people*” (emphasis in original).<sup>18</sup> The Millions More Movement affirmed self-help politics, even as it pointed to areas of political focus for organizing. Furthermore, affirming a definition of a monolithic Black community, Farrakhan argued that Blacks must enter a covenant with each other and with God, whereby they commit themselves to strive for unity, for “Our unity will command our presence at whatever table, in whatever forum we decide to be a part of and gain for us whatever we desire for our people.”<sup>19</sup> Using references to the Bible, a move that would amplify the Millions More Movement message given the support for Christianity in Black communities, Farrakhan argued that people must change themselves.<sup>20</sup> As he states, “My dear brothers and sisters, the burden is on us to change our behavior; to build love, trust and confidence in each other and in our people for us, then, 95% of our problems shall have been solved.”<sup>21</sup> The demands he notes for redress include a number of important issues, including police brutality, health care, education, and reparations. Noticeably absent are issues directly concerning sexism in Black communities. To be sure, the statement contains no disavowal of the push for Black male control in the home or community.

Finally, how do representations of Black women as traitors discipline Black feminist criticism? It is easy to think that the experiences I relayed and the rhetorical strategies I encountered are specific to me, my self-presentation, and the specific topics that I research. But, there is a long history of resistance to feminism in Black communities that attests otherwise, as I point out in chapter 4. How has the response to Black feminism undermined our necessity for bravery in pursuing our



work? What are the challenges that Black feminists have faced and how have they responded to these roadblocks? How can feminists protect the integrity of their work in the face of hostility, “excommunication,” and derision? These questions are critical to consider as we reflect on the state of Black feminist theorizing and political action. The fact that Black feminism meets with such hostility is a sign that we are, indeed, doing our jobs correctly. But, how and where and in what ways has that ongoing Black feminist effort been potentially compromised? I raise these questions not because I have definite answers, but to highlight a problem for Black feminists. The record thus far relates a troubling state of affairs regarding the potential for sexist backlash in undermining our goals.

Over the past several decades there have been numerous examples of backlash against Black feminism, and feminists have adopted a variety of attitudes and approaches in responding to hostility toward their work. The movie release of Alice Walker’s *The Color Purple* generated heated controversy resulting in picketing, accusations of disloyalty on Walker’s part, as well as negative criticism by literary critics. In response, as Charles Whitaker points out, Walker said, “she was ‘grief-stricken’ by the antipathy with which her work has been received by many in the Black community . . . .”<sup>22</sup> Of all that she found troubling about the response to her work, Walker writes, “[T]he most chilling thing to me about the response to *the Color Purple* was that people said ‘this doesn’t happen’ . . . They said this was totally an anomaly. This is all Alice’s problem. But what was really upsetting was the total lack of empathy for the woman [character, Celie, who is the book’s central focus].”<sup>23</sup> Walker has come to accept the consistent controversy that surrounds her work, noting that, “when you take on these taboos [regarding gender politics], you have to be ready and you have to be willing to suffer in order to help people see a really bad situation.”<sup>24</sup> Anne duCille relates that Black fiction writer Gayl Jones altered her depiction of sexuality and Black men in response to the negative criticism she received from her first two novels, *Eva’s Man* and *Corregidora*.<sup>25</sup> She observes: “Although she [Gayl Jones] has not been completely silenced, the kind of vitriolic, overly personalized censure her first two novels received in some circles has changed the course of her writing, particularly her attention to sexuality.”<sup>26</sup> Ntozake Shange, in an interview two decades after the release of her choreopoem, stated that she did not even read the special issue of the *Black Scholar* on *for colored girls* and *Black Macho* in order to shield herself from criticism.<sup>27</sup> She adds: “I *did* find the climate these critics [of my choreopoem] created in New York at the time

insidious and vitriolic, so I left. I spent time in France and the Caribbean. And then I moved to Houston, where I was able to create a nice life for my daughter and myself” (emphasis in original).<sup>28</sup> Michele Wallace, on the other hand, found the criticisms of her work “very painful.”<sup>29</sup> “At the time,” she reveals, “I was not really fully available to the criticism.”<sup>30</sup> The controversy surrounding *Black Macho* arguably left Wallace insecure about the value of the intellectual insights of her work.<sup>31</sup> Wallace recognizes *Black Macho* as an important part of feminist history and thinks people have not fully acknowledged the truth of the core insights it contained.<sup>32</sup> Still, she also describes it as a book that “could only hope to crash and burn” and, at times, suggests that it should never have been written.<sup>33</sup> In the new introduction she wrote for the reissuing of *Black Macho* she revealed that rereading the book was difficult, largely, as she states, “because my desire for something more from life than my marginal status as a black woman writer could ever offer was so palpable in its pages.”<sup>34</sup> These and other feminists employ a variety of strategies in dealing with the hostility they face regarding their ideas and the impediments to publishing and disseminating their work; some fare better than others in negotiating this process. At any rate, the production of feminist criticism—in art or in scholarship—comes at a high price. They are consistently ostracized, vilified, and marginalized, especially within Black communities.

The reaction to Black feminism is a testament both to the strength of the sexist politics we are resisting and to the important political intervention of our work; given the nature of what we are up against, the reactions are understandable, however problematic. This comes with the territory. What is most at issue in terms of hostile reactions to our work is not that they exist, but how we continue to be brave in the face of such opposition. In this book, I return to the controversy surrounding Michele Wallace’s *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* because, more than any other situation, this controversy relays the potential for failure in Black feminist politics. No work is perfect. However, the magnitude and severity of the negative reaction to *Black Macho* was largely a result of the masculinist politics of the Black Power ideology that was popular during the time of its release. More importantly, it was the “man power” of Black Power that short-circuited an effective feminist response. It is amazing, in my mind, that there was virtually no support for Wallace or her work by other Black feminists. Alice Walker, then an editor at *Ms.* and a reviewer of the book before press time, not only critiqued Wallace and the book, but also claimed (contrary to what Wallace remembers) that Wallace

ignored her suggestions for altering the book. Since the publication of *Black Macho*, people, including Black feminists, continue to speak dismissively of this book.<sup>35</sup> This is true despite the fact that in the twenty-five years since the book's publication, the key tenets of her work are now seen as cutting-edge scholarship, even among Black feminists. As I discussed in detail in chapter 2, Wallace anticipated both the feminist call to investigate gender power in nationalist politics and the move by students of Black nationalism to consider the "mutually constitutive" nature of Black and U.S. nationalisms. In some ways, Wallace was a casualty of the backlash against her book, but what were the broader ramifications of this bloodletting for Black feminist scholars and activists? How and to what extent did it curtail or alter the form and substance of our work?

It is unsurprising that Wallace concludes that "the major battle for [Black women] the 'other' of the 'other' will be to achieve a voice, or voices . . . ."<sup>36</sup> There is a high price to pay for waging battle on so many fronts. There are a number of factors that obviate the production of Black feminist art and criticism, among them individual and institutional racism and sexism, lack of publishing opportunities, inadequate mentoring, isolation within the academy and the larger community, and these factors usually get considerable attention among Black feminists. But, as an initial matter (before we continue pondering how to foment Black feminist activism and address the many other nettlesome issues we confront), we must ensure that we not be fettered in what we say, and how we speak our piece. In spite of and precisely because of the resistance we encounter, we must above all else resist the disciplining of our work by the dictates of the very politics we are working to discredit and dismantle.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. See, e.g., Jones, *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*; Cleaver and Katsiaficas, *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party*; and Brown, *Fighting for US, The Black Power Movement*.
2. See, e.g., Henderson, "War, Political Cycles, and the Pendulum Thesis," 337–74.
3. Dawson, *Black Visions*; Brown and Shaw, "Separate Nations," 22–44; and Davis and Brown, "The Antipathy of Black Nationalism," 239–52.
4. The use of the term "gender power" here is inspired by Anne McClintock's use of the term, as well as her discussion of nationalism in *Imperial Leather*. See McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven," 352–89.
5. Glaude, *Is It Nation Time?*, 2.
6. Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans*.
7. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*. Robinson argues that gender is important, but is a part of all nationalisms, and, therefore, cannot be seen as that which makes Black nationalism distinct; for Robinson, the defining characteristic of Black nationalism is its mutually constitutive relationship to White American nationalism, "its apparent inability to diverge from what could be considered the 'normal' politics of its day" (1). This argument is incomplete, however. Race, class, and gender have always been part of the warp and woof of U.S. politics. To the extent that Black nationalism is a derivative discourse, race, class, and gender politics, too, have marked it. This argument may seem merely tautological, but is significant because it speaks to the important conceptual and analytical shift that is afforded with the adoption of a Black feminist perspective.
8. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; and White, "Africa on My Mind," 73–97.
9. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
10. White, "Africa on My Mind."
11. Collins, *Fighting Words*. Importantly, although she examines the connection of race, gender, and family to the creation of national identity and its influence on social policy regarding the family in *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, Collins does not explore Black nationalism in its connection to the state in terms of the production of contemporary public policy. Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*.

12. White, "Africa on My Mind"; and Lubiano, "Standing in for the State," 156–64.
13. I use the terms paradigm and narrative interchangeably to underscore the fact that this paradigm's assumptions are typically relayed through political stories or narratives—in the news, in reports, in music, and elsewhere. Its narrative form provides coherence and easy translation. The term itself, Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, is one I derived from the literature on the Black family. It alludes, of course, to the infamous language Moynihan borrowed from Kenneth Clark, i.e., the notion of a "tangle of pathology," or the mix of constraining effects that stemmed from Black family breakdown. References to the importance of the culture of pathology (or, alternatively, culture of poverty) theme regarding the Black family are numerous, particularly in discussions of family welfare. See, e.g., Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*; Neubeck and Cazenave, *Welfare Racism*, 153; and Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*, 8, 56–61. For a discussion of the damage thesis regarding Black psychology, including a discussion of culture of poverty arguments, see Scott, *Contempt and Pity*.
14. Black political scientist Michael Dawson observes that, "black nationalism, not the various black liberal ideologies, is the most important ideological determinant of black public opinion." Dawson, "Slowly Coming to Grips," 349.
15. Brown, *Fighting for US*, 6.
16. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, 3.
17. Ibid.
18. Brown, *Fighting for US*. US, one of the most well known Black nationalist groups of the Black Power era, began in 1965. According to Brown, "The term 'US' was chosen as a dual reference to the organization and the community its members pledged to serve: *us Blacks as opposed to 'them' Whites*" (38; emphasis in original).
19. Like Collins, I find the juxtaposition and comparison of nationalism and integrationism as polar opposites problematic. Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, 76–77. I do not read the politics of major forms of contemporary Black nationalisms as ambiguous, however. Some, such as Collins and Lubiano, see nationalism in general and/or Black nationalism in particular as a "contested" and open space. Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, 15; and Lubiano, "Black Nationalism and Black Common Sense," 232. I leave aside questions about the ultimate political utility of nationalism, and focus instead on the specific articulation of a major form of contemporary Black nationalist politics.
20. This term I borrow and adapt from literary critic, Ingrid Reneau, who uses the concept of a clearing to describe the cultural and historical importance of the African ringshout dance to the survival of African descended peoples and their intergenerational connections; for Reneau, the ringshout is a multidimensional dance aesthetic that embodies and transforms history even as it structures and maintains community. Reneau, "Dancing the 'Clearing' in Academia," 322–26. I use it here to

denote an intellectual space or context in which to examine the BCPP, not to interrogate for interrogation's sake, but to the end that we might refine our understanding of the dynamics I examine about Black politics and Black nationalism. This book builds on and extends previous work. I intend this book, then, to create a meaningful dialogue about the relationship among race, gender, and nationalism in U.S. and Black politics and, thus, to further enable and affirm an intellectual, cultural, and political community that can accommodate dissent and contention as well as agreement.

21. See, Jordan-Zachery, "Black Womanhood and Social Welfare Policy," 5–24; and Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*.
22. Solomon-Fears, "Promoting Responsible Fatherhood."
23. For a discussion of the connection between Hip Hop and the Black Power Movement, for instance, see Lubiano, "Standing in for the State," 160.
24. Allen, "Minister Louis Farrakhan," 53.
25. Monroe, "Louis Farrakhan's Ministry of Misogyny and Homophobia," 287–88.
26. Ibid.
27. Muhammed, *Million Man March Home Study Guide Manual*, 4.
28. Monroe, "Louis Farrakhan's Ministry of Misogyny and Homophobia," 288.
29. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*.
30. I first explored the concept of Black male endangerment in an essay, entitled "The Endangered Black Male Phenomenon: Toward a Critical Understanding of the Black Male Dilemma and the Status of Black Families," coauthored with Candace Hurst in the spring of 1991. "Sapphirist mythology" is one example of the terminology I subsequently developed as I struggled to adequately describe the political phenomena I examine herein. I have also benefited from dialogue with Rose Harris about this issue. For her discussion of the ideology of the Black male crisis, see Harris, "Countering the Backlash."
31. Here, and elsewhere in the book, I use the term family welfare at times, as opposed to simply welfare, to emphasize that welfare benefits received by poor families is but one of a variety of types of expenditures that comprise the welfare state. As others have observed, for instance, government tax breaks and expenditures in the service of corporate entities—what we can properly refer to as corporate welfare—is also part of the welfare state.
32. For a discussion of feminist critiques of and debates surrounding subjectivity and objectivity in research, see Ramazanoglu with Holland, "Can Feminists Tell the Truth?," 41–59. Also, see generally Hesse-Biber and Yaiser, *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*.
33. See, e.g., The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," 13–22.
34. See, e.g., Frankenberg and Mani, "Crosscurrents, Crosstalk," 292–310; Kaplan, "The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Critical Practice," 137–52; and Fernandes, *Transforming Feminist Practice*.

35. Ramazanoglu and Holland, *Feminist Methodology*, 118.
36. See, e.g., Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference," 33–50; Fraser and Nicholson, "Social Criticism without Philosophy," 19–38; and Zerilli, *Signifying Woman*.
37. See, e.g., Ong, *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*; and Fernandes, *Producing Workers*.
38. See, generally, Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*.
39. Bell, *And We Are Not Saved*; Delgado, *The Rodrigo Chronicles*; and Williams, *Alchemy of Race and Rights*.
40. Black political scientists Cathy Cohen and Michael Dawson, for instance, encourage cross-disciplinary engagement in political science. See Dawson and Cohen, "Problems in the Study of the Politics of Race," 497. Furthermore, though they are cautious about interdisciplinarity, specifically given the difficulty they see in gaining the level of expertise necessary to do such work and the practical limitations this entails, they nonetheless acknowledge the importance of gender studies for studying racial politics (501–02).
41. McClain and Garcia, "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries," 247.
42. *Ibid.*, 253.
43. The work of Black political scientist Mack Jones was most important in inaugurating this approach. See especially Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics," 7–20.
44. Mack Jones laments that there has not been a broad-scale development of a Black political science. Jones, "NCOBPS: Twenty Years Later," 8–9. As chair of Atlanta University's Department of Political Science, Jones was instrumental in training a generation of scholars, including Rickey Hill, Melanie "Njeri" Jackson, and Adolph Reed, Jr., among others, within the Black Studies approach he introduced. In a retrospective on the Atlanta School of Black political science, Adolph Reed, Jr., notes that the push for a Black political science did not translate into "either a distinctive body of scholarship or a critique and analysis that can make sense of the complexities of contemporary black politics. The black perspective . . . was never able to specify how to choose between different programs or positions advocated by different black people." Adolph Reed, Jr., "Reflections on Atlanta University Political Science," 242. Notably, the structural dynamics at work in political science as it relates to race also help to explain in large part the relatively low development of this perspective in terms of scholarship. Many Black political scientists opt to work at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as part of their political commitment to advancing Blacks educationally. Given the emphasis on teaching at HBCUs and heavy teaching loads, college educators often find it difficult to produce scholarship. Furthermore, traditionally White institutions are also not particularly suited for the production of radical scholarship of the Atlanta school, as most Black scholars, as scholars as a whole, are expected to publish in "top tier" journals, and these journals have not historically been receptive to politically radical or progressive thought. The

- racial politics of higher education undermine or forestall the creation of the type of Black political science Jones envisioned.
45. This phrasing is borrowed from McClain and Garcia, "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries."
  46. Berger, *Workable Sisterhood*; Harris-Lacewell, "No Place to Rest," 1–33; Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*; Harris, "From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective," 280–305; Harris, "The African American Political Woman"; Jordan-Zachery, "The Female Bogeyman," 42–62; and Smooth and Tucker, "Behind but Not Forgotten," 241–58.
  47. See, e.g., Prestage, "In Quest of African American Political Woman," 88–103; King, "The Political Role of the Stereotyped Image of the Black Woman in America," 24–44; Cohen et al., *Women Transforming Politics*; Shelby Lewis, Owanah Anderson, Lucie Cheng, Arlene Fong Craig, Njeri Jackson, Isabella Jenkins, Barbara Jones, Saundra Rice Murray, Marge Rosensweig, Patricia Bell Scott, and Bonnie Wallace, "Achieving Sex Equity for Minority Women," 365–90; James, *Shadowboxing*; Lewis, *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival*; Tate, *Unknown Tongues*; and Gay and Tate, "Doubly Bound," 169–84.
  48. Fischer, *Reframing Public Policy*, 12–13.
  49. *Ibid.*, 13.
  50. See, e.g., Mumby, *Narrative and Social Control*; Schön and Rein, *Frame Reflection*; Umemoto, "Blacks and Koreans in Los Angeles," 95–117; and Schram and Neisser, *Tales of the State*.
  51. Schram and Neisser, "Introduction," in *Tales of the State*, 4.
  52. *Ibid.*
  53. Mumby, "Introduction: Narrative and Social Control," 3.
  54. *Ibid.*, 6.
  55. *Ibid.*, 7.
  56. Schram and Neisser, "Introduction," 5.
  57. *Ibid.*
  58. Lattuca, *Creating Interdisciplinarity*, 117.
  59. Smith, "Should We Make Political Science More of a Science or More about Politics?," 199.
  60. See, Monroe, "Interdisciplinary Work and a Search for Shared Scientific Standards," 203. Disciplines are a reality in which we have to relate and operate. Hence, I argue for a form of conceptual interdisciplinarity that is in fact a *strategic disciplinarity* or an approach to scholarly work that recognizes the constructed, contentious, and often-problematic boundaries of disciplinary knowledge, but advocates a conceptually interdisciplinary approach *within* disciplinary contexts. (I have adapted this notion, of course, from Gayatri Spivak's concept of "strategic essentialism," which makes a similar argument for identity-based categories.) Landry and MacLean, *The Spivak Reader*, 159, 204.
  61. See, e.g., Matthews, "No One Ever Asks," 267–304; White, "Africa on My Mind"; Collins, *Fighting Words*; and Perkins, *Autobiography as Activism*.



62. Barriteau, "Confronting Power," 7.

63. Ibid.

## Chapter 1    Toward a Black Feminist Frame of Reference: Gender, Nationalism, and the Ironies of Black Politics

1. Willie Legette, quoted in Reed, "Reflections on Atlanta University Political Science," 243.
2. I focus my attention here on Black politics in the United States. Notably, although questions of gender politics are certainly important in African Diaspora culture and politics, Oyeronke Oyewumi cautions against the a priori assumption that gender is an operative or defining category in every cultural context. Oyewumi, "De-confounding Gender," 1049–62.
3. Hawkesworth, "Engendering Political Science," 141–56. As noted in the introduction, there are other political scientists working to further develop Black feminist approaches to the study of Black politics. For two additional, recent examples, see for instance, Simien, *Black Feminist Voices in Politics*; and Smooth, "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics," 400–14.
4. Barker et al., *African Americans and the American Political System*, 5. Mack Jones first dealt with this issue in his classic essay, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics." See Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics," 7–20.
5. Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics," 7.
6. Ibid., 9.
7. Ibid., 7–8.
8. Ibid., 10–11.
9. Butler, *Gender Trouble*.
10. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 42.
11. Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 51–80.
12. For a critique of dominant modes of using gender as an analytic category that continue to affirm gender differences based on biology/reproduction, see Hawkesworth, "Confounding Gender," 649–83.
13. Guy-Sheftall notes that "The struggle for black women's liberation that began to emerge in the mid-1960s is a continuation of both intellectual and activist traditions whose seeds were sown during slavery and flowered during the antislavery fervor of the 1830s . . . The argument that African American women confront both a 'woman question and a race problem' (Cooper, 134) captures the essence of black feminist thought in the nineteenth century and would reverberate among intellectuals, journalists, activists, writers, educators, artists, and community leaders, both male and female, for generations." Guy-Sheftall, "Introduction," 1.

14. The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," 16.
15. Beale, "Double Jeopardy," 90–100; King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness," 42–72; and Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," 57–80. Spelman also provides important considerations on the questions of identity and feminist politics in *Inessential Woman*.
16. Fernandes, *Producing Workers*, 6.
17. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
18. Fernandes, *Producing Workers*, 5.
19. Ibid.
20. Harris, "Signifying Race and Gender."
21. Barker et al., note the importance of having an appropriate frame of reference, as inappropriate frames of reference, such as the "pluralist, melting-pot model," do not have "descriptive adequacy and prescriptive usefulness." Barker et al., *African-Americans and the American Political System*, 6.
22. Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 8.
23. I place the term "African American community" in quotes in recognition of the heterogeneity of African American culture. Despite the fact that African Americans do not comprise a monolithic group, political and scholarly discourse often makes this assumption. Throughout the book I critique this idea by showing how gender and class difference disrupt the notion of racial unity.
24. White, "Africa on My Mind," 76.
25. Ibid.
26. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
27. On the confusion between the two terms, see Connor, "A Nation is a Nation," 90–117; and Oommen, "State, Nation, and Ethnicity," 26–46.
28. Marx, *Making Race and Nation*, 5.
29. See Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 70–86, for a discussion of the United States as a racial state.
30. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 15–16.
31. Ibid., 16.
32. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender and the Narrative of Identity," 185–202.
33. Spillers, "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual," 115.
34. West, *Feminist Nationalism*, xxx.
35. Ibid.
36. Ranchold-Nilsson and Tétreault, *Women, States, and Nationalism*, 6.
37. For an assessment of this self-help tradition and its association with conservative politics, including those of the Nation of Islam, see Smith, "'Self-Help,'" 257–89.
38. Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 244–51.
39. Quoted in *ibid.*, 246.
40. See, Franklin and Moss for a succinct description of DuBois's opposition, for instance. *Ibid.*, 248–49.
41. My characterization of this conception of self-help as undemocratic came as a result of dialogue with Judylyn Ryan, specifically as a means of

- differentiating it from forms of self-help or community assistance outside of the accommodationist model I criticize. My analysis here of the failure of self-help politics to appreciate the interdependence of these various spheres (i.e., politics, society, and economics) is informed by Adolph Reed Jr.'s analysis of the issue in a graduate seminar class of his I visited on April 11, 1995, at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Reed provides a thoroughgoing critique of accommodationist politics and Black middle-class patronage politics in "The Jug and Its Content," 1–52.
42. During Reconstruction, for instance, Whites were able to dispossess Blacks of their property and White speculators who used the hard-earned savings of Blacks to make risky investments bankrupted the Black Freedman's Bank. Boston, *Race, Class, and Conservatism*, 31–32.
  43. Booker T. Washington remarked, for instance, that "Brains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the civil rights bill in the South is to let it alone; let it alone and it will settle itself . . . Let there be in a community a Negro who by virtue of his superior knowledge . . . can raise fifty bushels of corn to the acre while his white neighbor only raises thirty; and the white man will come to the black man to learn . . ." Quoted in Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 247. Likewise, in his speech at the Million Man March, Louis Farrakhan argued excelling at playing the violin and other things Whites think are their special preserve will end racism. Farrakhan, "Toward a More Perfect Union," 143.
  44. Note: I borrow the use of irony as an organizing device from John Skrentny's important work, *The Ironies of Affirmative Action*. In this text, he convincingly argues that, despite all of the attention given to affirmative action, there is still much that is not commonly recognized about its historical development and operation. He notes that there are several ironies about affirmative action (e.g., the fact that it was not advocated for by civil rights organizations and never enjoyed mass public support) and uses that as a frame for discussing affirmative action. See Skrentny, *The Ironies of Affirmative Action*.
  45. Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*, 282.
  46. *Ibid.*, 283.
  47. Boston, *Race, Class, and Conservatism*, 22–29.
  48. Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*, 33.
  49. *Ibid.*, 40–43.
  50. *Ibid.*, 173–74.
  51. Boston, *Race, Class, and Conservatism*, 47–48.
  52. U.S. Census Bureau, "We the People: Blacks in the U.S.," 12.
  53. *Ibid.*
  54. *Ibid.*, 13.
  55. *Ibid.*, 15.
  56. National Urban League, "Executive Summary," 2.
  57. U.S. Census Bureau, "We the People," 1. According to the Census Bureau, women who selected "Blacks alone" comprise 6.4% of the population.

The figure for women who selected “Black alone or in combination with one or more other races” is 6.8%.

58. Ibid., 15.
59. Frankenberg and Lee, “Race in American Public Schools,” 6.
60. Ibid., 4.
61. Orfield et al., *Losing Our Future*, 2.
62. For a discussion of the fight for educational equality in Washington, D.C., including resistance against the practice of tracking, see Hayes III, “Race, Urban Politics, and Educational Policymaking in Washington, D.C.,” 399–411.
63. “Racial Disparities in Special Education: National Trends,” [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/resarch/dropouts/dropouts04.php#reports](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/resarch/dropouts/dropouts04.php#reports).
64. I will be discussing this initiative in chapter 3.
65. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 40–43.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 38.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Glaude, *Is it Nation Time?*, 6.
72. White, “Africa on My Mind,” 79.
73. Ibid.
74. bell hooks notes a distinction between benevolent patriarchy and dominator patriarchy. Whereas they both figure men as authority figures in the home, the dominator model rests on violence as a mechanism of control. hooks, *We Real Cool*, 4. I adapt the concept of the dominator model of patriarchy to include definitions of male patriarchy in two-parent, male–female homes in which men equate leadership of the home with psychological and/or physical domination and control.
75. Ibid.
76. White, “Africa On My Mind,” 76–77.
77. Ibid., 81.
78. Ibid., 79.
79. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
80. Davis, “Slaying the Dream,” 73–90; Kelley, *Yo’ Mama’s Disfunktional!*; Legette, “The Crisis of the Black Male,” 291–324; and Reed, “Triumph of the Tuskegee Will,” 35–36.
81. Lubiano, “Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels,” 323–63.
82. For a discussion of “tales of the state” and the role of narrative in U.S. public policy, see Schram and Neisser, *Tales of the State*.
83. Roth, “The Vanguard Center,” 76–128.
84. Hawkesworth, “Engendering Political Science,” 152.
85. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*, 16.
86. Ibid., 11.
87. McCormick 2d and Franklin, “Expressions of Racial Consciousness in the African American Community,” 315–36.

88. Entman, *Projections of Power*; Johnson-Cartee, *News Narratives and News Framing*; Duchan, *Frame Work in Language and Literacy*; and Voaden and Wolfthal, *Framing the Family*.
89. See, e.g., Schön and Rein, *Frame Reflection*; Callaghan and Schnell, *Framing American Politics*; Winter, "Framing Gender," 453–80; Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes," 464–81; and Johnston and Noakes, *Frames of Protest*.
90. Voaden and Wolfthal, *Framing the Family*, 6.
91. Ibid.
92. Schön and Rein, *Frame Reflection*, 30.
93. Ibid., 23.
94. Ibid., 26.
95. Ibid., 26–27.
96. Ibid., 23.
97. Notably, much of what I focus on in the book is explaining the origins, operation, and effects of the BCPP. I at times directly and always implicitly suggest alternative frames throughout this work.
98. I borrow this terminology from Judylyn Ryan. I discuss my use of Judylyn S. Ryan's concepts more fully below in note 107.
99. Stone, *Policy Paradox and Political Reason*, 109.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid., 112.
102. Ibid., 113.
103. Ibid., 114.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., 114–15.
106. Ibid., 115.
107. The theory and language I use here, specifically regarding the concept of a "supratext" and intertextuality, is inspired by and adapted from Judylyn S. Ryan's work, specifically, "Contested Visions/Double Vision in *Tar Baby*," 597–621. I also benefited from Judylyn Ryan's discussion of the relationship between texts and supratexts in her seminar, "Spirituality and/as Ideology in Black Women's Writings and Film," held at Rutgers University during the spring of 1997. Specifically, Ryan emphasizes the relationship between fictional or other narratives as texts that are in dynamic relationship with and, therefore, must be read in terms of the larger political and cultural contexts—the supratexts—in which they are situated.
108. Rein and Schön, "Reframing Policy Discourse."
109. Ibid., 154–55.
110. Ibid., 155.
111. Schön and Rein, *Frame Reflection*, 32.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid., 33.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., 33–34.

117. Christian, "Fixing Methodologies: *Beloved*," 364. Importantly, Christian acknowledges these other types of readings as equally valid. She states, "I have no argument with psychoanalytic, Marxist, or formalist interpretations of *Beloved*. Although at times I can be testy about any one of these approaches to particular texts, because of its richness of texture, *Beloved* does and should generate many and various, even contending, interpretations." She implicitly suggests, however, that a reading that appreciates African cosmology, one that has been left out or denigrated, is most appropriate, as it is "clearly derived from it" (364–65). Similarly, events such as the Million Man March may be open to different, even competing interpretations, but should be assessed from the perspective of the BCPP, since it is "clearly derived from it." To do otherwise abstracts such events into an historical vacuum in which culture and context give way to the prerogatives and priorities of scholars and analysts.
118. Morrison, "Rootedness," 341.
119. Christian, "Fixing Methodologies."
120. *Ibid.*, 366–67.
121. *Ibid.*
122. Christian, "Fixing Methodologies."
123. Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes."
124. *Ibid.*, 468.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.*, 469.
127. *Ibid.*, 469–70.
128. *Ibid.*, 470.
129. *Ibid.*, 472.
130. *Ibid.*, 474.
131. *Ibid.*, 475–76.
132. *Ibid.*, 475.
133. *Ibid.*, 476.
134. *Ibid.*, 475–76.
135. *Ibid.*, 478.
136. Noakes and Johnston, for instance, point out that social movement activity is both influenced by and influences political opportunities. Noakes and Johnston, "Frames of Protest," 20–23.
137. Schön and Rein, *Frame Reflection*.
138. Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America*, 16.
139. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
140. *Ibid.*, 34–35.
141. See especially Swain's "Concluding Observations and Policy Recommendations," 423–56.
142. Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests*, 14.
143. *Ibid.*, 3–7.
144. *Ibid.*, 145.
145. *Ibid.*, 165.

146. Ibid., 192.
147. Ibid., 210.
148. Ibid., 198.
149. Ibid.
150. Dawson, *Black Visions*, 100–01.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid., 101.
153. Brown and Shaw, “Separate Nations.”
154. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*; White, “Africa On My Mind”; Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*; Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise*; and Robinson, *Black Nationalism and American Politics and Thought*.
155. Dawson, *Black Visions*, 99.
156. Ibid., 113.
157. Ibid., 115–16.
158. Ibid., 121.
159. Asante, “A Review of Michael C. Dawson, *Black Visions*.”
160. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, 9. I raised these issues as a participant in a roundtable discussion on “Black Nationalism v. Community Nationalism” held September 2, 2004, at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago. Todd Shaw commented that this implicit association of positive capital with “community” nationalism was not his and Robert Brown’s intent and suggested that another moniker might be more appropriate for this variant of nationalism they argue that their research reveals.
161. See Carroll and Zerilli, “Feminist Challenges to Political Science,” 55–76.
162. Harris-Lacewell, *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*.
163. Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*.

## Chapter 2 “We Shall Have Our Manhood”: *Black Macho*, the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, and the Million Man March

1. Wallace, “Memoirs of a Premature Bomb-thrower,” 35–36.
2. Pinckney, “Black Women and the Myths of Macho,” 85.
3. See for instance, Davis, “Michele Wallace,” 158–60; Bond and Gregory, “Two Views of Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman,” 13–21; Malveaux, “The Sexual Politics of Black People,” 32–35; and Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho,” 24–33. Notably, in her *New York Times* review, June Jordan impliedly questioned whose interests were served in the publication of *Black Macho*, writing, “ ‘How does it happen that this

- book has been published—this book and not another that would summarily describe black people to ourselves and to the other ones who would watch us so uneasily.’” Jordan, “To Be Black and Female,” quoted in Malveaux, “The Sexual Politics of Black People,” 32–33. Her apprehension about the publication of the book and its embrace by the White media echoed that of others, such as Malveaux and Staples, who suggested that *Black Macho* buttressed the prevailing racist politics at the time.
4. Robert Staples wrote an initial essay in an earlier issue of *The Black Scholar* critiquing Shange and Wallace. Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho.” In the subsequent, special issue on their work, everyone responded to this previous essay by Staples. He also included a follow-up essay in the special issue. Jordan, “Black Women Haven’t ‘Got It All,’ ” 39–40; Karenga, “On Wallace’s Myths,” 36–39; Lorde, “The Great American Disease,” 17–20; Malveaux, “The Sexual Politics of Black People,” 32–35; Poussaint, “White Manipulation and Black Oppression,” 52–55; Staples, “A Rejoinder: Black Feminism and the Cult of Masculinity,” 63–67; and Salaam, “Revolutionary Struggle/Revolutionary Love,” 20–24.
  5. Giddings, “The Lessons of History Will Shape the 1980s,” 50.
  6. Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho.”
  7. *Ibid.*, 27.
  8. Jones, “The Need to Go Beyond Stereotypes,” 48–49; and Karenga, “On Wallace’s Myths”; and Poussaint, “White Manipulation and Black Oppression.”
  9. Poussaint. “White Manipulation and Black Oppression,” 55.
  10. Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho,” 25; and Staples, “A Rejoinder,” 65.
  11. Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho,” 31.
  12. Staples, “The Myth of Black Macho,” 24–25; Poussaint, “White Manipulation and Black Oppression,” 52; and Toure, “Black Male/Female Relations,” 46.
  13. For instance, as previously noted, Pinckney argues that the book is merely “dressed up to resemble analysis.” Pinckney, “Black Women and the Myths of Macho,” 85. Karenga refers to Wallace’s arguments as a “reductive romanticization of black male–female relations and the social conditions which have shaped and challenged them.” Karenga, “On Wallace’s Myths,” 36. Moreover, Julianne Malveaux writes that Wallace did “little to elevate the discussion [of sexism and Black male–female relations] past those late evening conversations that happen often when we get together. Emotionally charged, bandying about lots of accusation, her book resolves nothing.” Malveaux “The Sexual Politics of Black People,” 32.
  14. Stone, “The Limitations of Reformist Feminism,” 26.
  15. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Fernandes, *Producing Workers*; and Harris, “Signifying Race and Gender.”
  16. For an insightful critique of simplistic analyses of cultural politics, including the trend to valorize youth culture as “emancipatory expression,” see Reed, “The Allure of Malcolm X and the Changing Character of Black Politics,” 203–32.



17. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, 3–7.
18. In her groundbreaking essay, “Africa on My Mind,” E. Frances White provides a critical analysis of the gender politics of Black nationalism. White, however, sees a paradox between the “radical and progressive” relationship of nationalism towards racism and the “repressive [nature of Afrocentric nationalism] in relation to the internal organization of the black community.” White, “Africa On My Mind,” 76–77. If we recognize that gender is part of the operating logic of most dominant forms of Black nationalisms, however, this tension disappears. For a discussion of sexism and gender relations in African cultures, see Cole and Guy-Sheftall, *Gender Talk*, 106–07.
19. Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 16. Citations are to the Oxford reprint edition.
20. *Ibid.*, 20–31.
21. White, “Africa on My Mind,” 79.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, 3–7.
24. *Ibid.*, 3.
25. *Ibid.*, 6.
26. In her work, Wahneema Lubiano does discuss the ways in which Black nationalism resonates with conservative gender politics supported by the state. Significantly, she does not argue that masculinist gender politics are a necessary feature of Black nationalism. Rather, she views Black nationalism as a “plural, flexible, and contested” political enterprise. Lubiano, “Black Nationalism and Black Common Sense,” 232.
27. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 352–53.
28. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*, 7.
29. Other important studies that deal with the subject of gender and nationalism include Kandiyoti, “Identity and Its Discontents,” 429–43; Nasta, *Motherlands*; and Grewal and Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies*.
30. White, “Africa on My Mind,” 74.
31. *Ibid.*, 76.
32. Collins, *Fighting Words*, 180.
33. Ransby and Matthews, “Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions,” 526–35.
34. *Ibid.*, 534.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Perkins, *Autobiography as Activism*.
37. A new wave of feminist scholarship contributes greatly to our understanding of Black women’s activism and the politics of gender in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. See, e.g., Springer, *Still Lifting, Still Climbing*; and Collier-Thomas and Franklin, *Sisters in the Struggle*.
38. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, 72–73. Citations are to the Verso reprint edition.
39. *Ibid.*, 75–77.
40. *Ibid.*, 77–79.

41. Ibid., 73–79.
42. Ibid., 71.
43. Ibid., 72.
44. Ibid., 73.
45. Ibid., xxiii.
46. Ibid., xxiv.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 62–69.
49. Ibid., 64.
50. Ibid., 68.
51. Robnett, *How Long?*
52. In response to Wallace's claim, for instance, Staples argues that Black women voluntarily allowed men to take on the leadership roles in civil rights organizations. Staples, "The Myth of Black Macho," 27.
53. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, 72–75.
54. Ibid., 38.
55. Ibid., 54–55.
56. Ibid., 68–69.
57. Ibid., xx.
58. Chandra Talpade Mohanty's critique of the colonizing effect of Western feminist scholarship is also relevant in this context. Mohanty argues for feminist scholarship that does not assume a monolithic, already constituted category of women and that appreciates that women operate within unique, sociohistorical contexts. Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 51–80. Adopting this approach not only leads us to a richer understanding of how gender politics operate cross-culturally, but to a more precise view of how class, status, and other factors work to situate women differently within particular cultural contexts. Likewise, feminist studies of Black nationalism that focus on how gender and nation are conceptualized and deployed within specific socio-historical settings will enrich our understanding of Black nationalist politics and how the politics of race, class, gender, and nation are intimately connected.
59. Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, "Million Man March."
60. Power and Samuels, "Battling for Souls," 47.
61. Gallup Poll, "African-American Leaders/Louis Farrakhan," 164.
62. Ibid.
63. "Black Leaders Vow Support for Men's Rally Farrakhan Jibes Won't Halt March."
64. "Clinton Woos the Black Vote with U-Turn on March."
65. "SCLC Supports March on D.C. by Farrakhan."
66. See Moynihan, *Miles to Go* for an updated version of his theories on Black cultural pathology, and his assessment of his own predictive powers regarding the effects of social policy and phenomena.
67. Historically, patriarchal family structures have been a principal vehicle through which sexist oppression has occurred. In theory and practice,

- patriarchal family structures need not be oppressive or confining for women. I draw a distinction here between what bell hooks referred to in a public lecture in October 1995 at Rutgers University and in her book *We Real Cool* as “benign patriarchy” and the Black macho patriarchy discussed herein, which focuses on control and domination as putative forms of leadership.
68. “Dethroning the Welfare Queen,” 2019.
  69. Lubiano, “Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels,” 337–38.
  70. Rainwater and Yancey, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy*.
  71. *Ibid.*, 61–63.
  72. Davis, *Women, Culture, and Politics*; Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*; Jordan-Zachery, “Black Womanhood and Social Welfare Policy”; Kelley, *Yo’ Mama’s Disfunktional!*; and Ransby and Matthews, “Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions.”
  73. Neubeck, *When Welfare Disappears*, 25.
  74. *Ibid.*, 26.
  75. Amy Ansell argues that during the 1990s the New Right focused attention on a variety of “crises,” including the decline of two-parent homes in ways that produced an “identity crisis” of sorts for the United States as a nation. Ansell, *New Right, New Racism*, 6–7. Part of what was (is) at stake is a determination of which racial groups are included within the boundaries of national community (8–9).
  76. Lubiano argues, for instance, that the image of the Black woman as Welfare Queen is tied to narratives of Black family decline that are typically linked to the “decline of the nation.” Lubiano, “Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels,” 332. In this regard, Black communities are figured as embodying immorality and disorder—the antithesis of the community the United States projects as its ideal.
  77. Moynihan, *Miles to Go*, 189.
  78. Ansell, *New Right, New Racism*, 9.
  79. See for instance Murray, *Losing Ground*.
  80. Kunjufu, *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys*; *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys Vol II*; and *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys Vol III*.
  81. Kunjufu, *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys*.
  82. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
  83. Harris, “NAACP Seeks Solutions to Crisis of Black Males.”
  84. Hare and Hare, *The Endangered Black Family*.
  85. Farrakhan, “The Plight of the Black Male.”
  86. Farrakhan, *Let Us Make Man*, 58.
  87. Legette, “The Crisis of the Black Male,” 305.
  88. *Ibid.*, 307.
  89. *Ibid.*, 308.
  90. *Ibid.*, 308–09.
  91. *Ibid.*, 310.

92. Ibid.
93. This is Charles Silberman's term. Silberman, "Beware the Day They Change Their Minds," quoted in Rainwater and Yancey, *The Moynihan Report*, 430–31, 440.
94. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, 110.
95. The October 1997 Million Woman March that gathered Black women from across the country in Philadelphia featured the basic assumptions at the heart of the Black cultural pathology narrative. As with the Million Man March's propaganda, the Mission Statement for the Million Woman March focused on the family and the individual as the central sites for rehabilitation. It states: "It is our belief that it will require collective and comprehensive efforts to develop for determination the process and systems that will be utilized to regain the proper direction of our family structure . . . The development of realistic tasks, distinctive objectives, and effective solutions will insure stabilizing the family unit and individual lives as we move forward as a people": "Million Woman March Mission Statement." Furthermore, the statement also figures women as bearers of culture and appropriate socialization—a view common to nationalist politics—arguing, at the same time, that women have fallen short of their responsibilities. Although the March was not explicitly focused on Black female atonement, like its namesake march, it too assumed that the "destruction" at hand in Black communities stemmed from dysfunctional family structure, improper moral development, and the failure of Black people, and most especially Black women, to adequately raise their children and to cultivate proper standards of community conduct.
96. Quoted in Muwakkil, "Divided Loyalties," 24.
97. As Teresa Moore notes, other members of African American Agenda 2000 included Ms. Editor Marcia Anne Gillespie, Spelman professor Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and founder of the National Coalition of 100 Black women, Jewell Jackson McCabe. Moore, "March Inspires Emotional Debate."
98. Freedberg, "Farrakhan Considers Jews 'Bloodsuckers.' "
99. Ibid.
100. Muwakkil, "Divided Loyalties," 26.
101. "Man March Draws Fire from Women."
102. Adolph Reed, Jr., Robert Reid-Pharr, Clarence Lusane, Dean Robinson, and others have also noted the conservative tenor of the March and/or critiqued its gender politics. Reed, "Triumph of the Tuskegee Will"; Reid-Pharr, "It's Raining Men," 36–49; Lusane, *Race in the Global Era*; and Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*. For a discussion of the March in terms of a change in Black political partisanship in light of post-1984 political developments, including its connection to the legacy of the Black Power Movement, see Taylor, *Black Politics in Transition*.
103. Muwakkil, "Divided Loyalties," 25.

104. Curry, "The Message and the Messenger," 1.
105. Ibid.
106. Muwakkil, "Divided Loyalties," 24.
107. Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, 83; Alexander-Floyd, "Theorizing Race and Gender in Black Studies;" and Alexander-Floyd, "Interdisciplinarity, Black Politics, and the Million Man March." I do not include my analysis of the survey data on the March here for several reasons, including my desire to underscore the postpositivist, post-empiricist aims of this work.

### Chapter 3    The Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm and George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Fatherhood Initiatives

1. Levi, "The State of the Study of the State," 33.
2. Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 3.
3. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*.
4. Ibid., 76.
5. Ibid., 76–78.
6. Ibid., 84.
7. Ibid., 77.
8. Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 2.
9. Ibid., 6.
10. Ibid., 7.
11. Ibid., 8.
12. Ibid., 99.
13. White, "Africa on My Mind"; and Collins, *Fighting Words*.
14. White, "Africa on My Mind," 76.
15. Ibid.
16. Lubiano, "Standing in for the State," 158.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 162–63. That Black nationalism performs such a function—establishing a hegemonic understanding of the heroic Black political subject—is not at issue for Lubiano. She objects to the reactionary gender and sexual politics that the production of such a subject has generally taken.
20. Eudine Barriteau examines the Black male marginalization theory in the context of the Caribbean. Discussing the work of Errol Miller, for instance, a scholar who has been a principal promoter of the male marginalization thesis, Barriteau argues that "Miller's underlying thesis seems to be that men have an *a priori* right to the resources of the state

- and society over and above women. His work suggests that any attempts to correct policy that explicitly denies women's political, economic, and civic relevance are designed to punish men (Miller 1994, 124–131; Barriteau 2000, 11–12; Barriteau 2001, 92–94).” Barriteau, “Confronting Power and Politics,” 71. Jordan-Zachery explores fatherhood initiatives and its relationship to and support by what some would identify as nationalist and integrationist camps. Jordan-Zachery, “The Meeting of Black Nationalism and Fatherhood Initiatives.”
21. For a discussion of post-empiricist approaches to public policy, see Fischer, *Reframing Public Policy*.
  22. Linda Zerilli suggested to me the use of the terminology “wounded masculinity.”
  23. Black political scientist Willie Legette makes a similar point regarding Black male crisis ideology specifically, stating that its emergence is a direct response to the women's movement. See Legette, “The Crisis of the Black Male,” 293.
  24. Lubiano, “Standing in for the State,” 163.
  25. Adolph Reed, Jr., and Clarence Lusane also draw a parallel between the March and Washington's accommodationist politics. See Reed, “Triumph of the Tuskegee Will”; and Lusane, *Race in the Global Era*.
  26. As Ansell notes, “A focus on the symbolic dimensions of the right turn need not require demonstration of the existence of a majoritarian consensus with regard to a set of shared dominant values. There is no need to search for the factual recognition of dominant values or a coherent system of specific beliefs on particular topics.” Ansell, *New Right, New Racism*, 17. She quotes Stuart Hall discussing the hegemonic project of Thatcherism: “‘Thatcherism has never been ‘hegemonic’ if by that we mean that it succeeded in unifying a major social bloc, ‘winning the consent’ of the great majority of the subordinate classes of society and other key social forces to a major task of social reconstruction. Especially if we conceive ‘hegemony’ as a permanent, steady state of affairs. What we have always argued is that it had a ‘hegemonic project.’ It was designed to renovate society as a whole. And, in doing so, it understood that it must organise on a variety of social and cultural sites at once, both in society and in the state, on moral and cultural, as well as economic and political terrain, using them all to initiate the deep reformation of society.’” Stuart Hall, “The British Left After Thatcherism,” *Socialist Review* (March–April 1987): 50, quoted in Ansell, *New Right, New Racism*, 17.
  27. Reed, “Introduction,” 4–5.
  28. Schram, *Words of Welfare*.
  29. Jennings, *Welfare Reform*, 20.
  30. Ibid.
  31. Ibid.
  32. Jordan-Zachery, “Black Womanhood and Social Welfare Policy, 15.

33. Ibid., 19. Jordan-Zachery provides a qualitative case study and content analysis of public welfare discourse in "Agenda Formation."
34. Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*, 6–7.
35. Ibid., 94.
36. Ibid., 94–95.
37. Ibid., 99.
38. Neubeck and Cazenave, *Welfare Racism*, 217–18.
39. Ibid., 218.
40. Jennings, *Welfare Reform*, 27.
41. Neubeck, *When Welfare Disappears*, 45–46.
42. Jennings, *Welfare Reform*, 28–29.
43. Neubeck, *When Welfare Disappears*, 47–48.
44. Ibid., 48.
45. Ibid.
46. Galambos, "Health Care Coverage for Poor Women," 3.
47. Ibid.
48. Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 3734, Report 104–725, July 30, 1996.
49. Formicola, "The Good in the Faith-Based Initiative," 27.
50. Ibid., 30.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Olasky, "The Early American Model of Compassion," 6–23.
54. Ibid., 11.
55. Ibid., 8.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 184–88.
60. Ibid., 185.
61. Ibid., 188.
62. Ibid., 218–19. The men who were referred to here and described as "wilding" or going about looking for innocent victims to rape were exonerated by DNA evidence when the actual rapist confessed to the crime. Bennett, "True Confessions?" For a discussion of the production of the concept of wilding by the media and its relationship to moral panic and race, see Welch et al., "Youth Violence and Race in the Media."
63. Formicola, "The Good in the Faith-Base Initiative," 33–34.
64. Magnet, *The Dream and the Nightmare*, 16.
65. Ibid., 17–18.
66. Ibid., 32.
67. Ibid., 27.
68. Ibid., 30.
69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., 38.
72. Ibid., 32.
73. Ibid., 32–33.
74. Goldsmith, *Putting Faith in Neighborhoods*, 44.
75. Ibid., 10.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., 11.
78. Ibid., 10.
79. Ibid. x.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 6.
82. Ibid., 10–11.
83. Ibid., xi.
84. Formicola, “The Good in the Faith-Based Initiative,” 37.
85. Magnet, *The Dream and the Nightmare*, 35.
86. Aberbach, “The Political Significance of the George W. Bush Administration,” 130–49.
87. Ibid.
88. Formicola and Segers, “The Ugly Politics of the Faith-Based Initiative,” 124.
89. Segers, “Introduction: President Bush’s Faith-Based Initiative,” 4.
90. Ibid.
91. Ackerman, *Public Aid to Faith-Based Organizations*.
92. Segers, “Introduction,” 6.
93. Aberbach, “The Political Significance of the George W. Bush Administration,” 142; and Black et al., *Of Little Faith*, 185–222.
94. Ackerman, *Public Aid to Faith-Based Organizations*, 35–36, 40–41.
95. Persons, “National Politics and Charitable Choice,” 65–78.
96. “Courting Black Concerns.”
97. Smith, “Introduction,” 2.
98. DiIulio, “Supporting Black Churches,” 42–45.
99. Black et al., *Of Little Faith*, 103–04.
100. “Transcript of Remarks by President Bush to U.S. Conference of Mayors,” accessed October 17, 2003.
101. Segers, “Introduction,” 7.
102. Ibid., 21 (note 10).
103. Leonard, “Black Clergy Back Bush Initiative.”
104. Segers, “Introduction,” 9, 119.
105. Formicola and Segers, “The Ugly Politics of the Faith-Based Initiatives,” 139.
106. Olsen, “As Faith-Based Initiative Controversy Heats Up.”
107. Leonard, “Black Clergy Back Bush Initiative.”
108. “The departure of John DiIulio,” accessed November 10, 2006.
109. Persons, “National Politics and Charitable Choice,” 68.



110. Ibid., 76–77.
111. Weber, “The Bad in the Faith-Based Initiative,” 103.
112. Bush, “Rallying the Armies of Compassion.”
113. Weber, “The Bad in the Faith-Based Initiative,” 104.
114. Bush, “Rallying the Armies of Compassion,” 1.
115. Quoted in Weber, “The Bad in the Faith-Based Initiative,” 105.
116. Kennedy, “Redemption or Rehabilitation?” 222.
117. Ibid., 225.
118. “Bush budget spells cuts, changes across anti-poverty programs,” accessed November 17, 2005.
119. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, “NAACP Opposes Proposed Changes to Social Security.”
120. Smith, “Introduction,” 2.
121. Ibid.
122. Ryden, “Faith-Based Initiatives and the Constitution,” 255–56.
123. Ibid., 253–54.
124. Watson, “CBC Criticizes President’s State of the Union Address.”
125. “President Bush, NAACP discuss Relations.”
126. Reed, *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon*. Black political scientist Larycia Hawkins astutely observes that Bush has appropriated the language or frame of Civil Rights to facilitate his faith-based initiative, “by weaving a causal story that civil rights luminaries might envy: Faith-Based and Community Initiatives help heal the hurts of the black community by removing barriers to religious social service delivery at the level of black need and by eradicating discrimination in contracting via a level playing field for all (Unlevel Playing Field 2001; Rallying the Armies 2001).” Hawkins, “Follow the Civil Rights Road,” 22. This appropriation of civil rights language is particularly insidious, given that faith-based initiatives’ design and effects undermine the legacy of the Civil Rights movement and the social justice agenda it represented.
127. Kirkpatrick, “The 2004 Campaign,” accessed November 10, 2006.
128. “Courting Black Concerns”; and Kirkpatrick, “Black Pastors Backing Bush are Rarities but Not Alone.”
129. “Prominent Texas Pastor Expressed Concern about ‘Faith-Based’ Initiative.” David Kuo discusses how the Bush election team used conferences on the FBI in part to target minority votes. Kuo, *Tempting Faith*, 230–32, 251–52.
130. “United States: Rebuilding the Party of Lincoln; To Come,” 54.
131. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, “Black Support for President Bush.”
132. Hutchinson, “Black Evangelicals,” accessed January 27, 2005.
133. Ibid.
134. “Courting Black Concerns.”
135. Mahon, “Poverty in Black and White,” 15.
136. The Urban League sponsored a 1984 Black Family Summit and the NAACP has held two conferences on the subject. Davis, *Women*,

- Culture, and Politics*, 79; and Harris, "NAACP Seeks Solutions to Crisis of Black Males," A1. The Urban Institute, in July 1992, sponsored a conference entitled "Nurturing Young Black Males: Challenges to Agencies, Programs, and Social Policy." Majors and Gordon, *The American Black Male*, 306.
137. "The Passion and the Struggle," sec. B; Harrison and Lockhart, *Radio TV Reports*; The Press-Enterprise, "Forums to Focus on Minority Issues," sec. B; Maasarani, "Area Speaker Sees Black Males' Crisis," sec. A; Somerson, "Workshops Study Black Male 'Crisis,'" sec. B; and Staff and Wire Reports, "'Crisis of Black Male' seminar at IUSB," sec. B.
  138. Austin, *Repairing the Breach*, 14–15.
  139. "News conference by: Governor Douglas Wilder and Others On: The Conference on Black Males in the 21st Century," 7.
  140. Ibid.
  141. See, for instance, Simmond, "CBC Examines the Plight of Black Males," sec. A.
  142. "All black male schools or classes have been proposed and/or implemented in Milwaukee, Miami, Baltimore, San Diego, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chicago, New York City, Detroit, Brooklyn, Norfolk, and smaller cities throughout the country." Legette, "The Crisis of the Black Male," 299. For a closer look at the philosophy behind one such school, see Watson and Smitherman, *Educating African American Males*. See also Brown, "The Dilemma of Legal Discourse," 63–129; Midgette and Glen, "African-American Male Academies," 69–78; and Weber, "Immersed in an Educational Crisis," 1099–131.
  143. Legette, "The Crisis of the Black Male," 300.
  144. The focus on the endangered Black male has also given rise to a new area of scholarly study on the crisis of the Black male and Black male studies generally. Boyd and Allen, *Brotherman*; Golden, *Black Male*; Akbar, *Visions for Black Men*; and Willis, *Faith of Our Fathers*. Johnson and McCluskey, *Black Men Speaking*. See also George, *The Black Male Crisis*; Gates, *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man*; June and Parker, *Men to Men*; and Madhabuti, *Black Men*.
  145. Legette, "The Crisis of the Black Male," 296.
  146. "The Potter's House and T.D. Jakes Ministries," accessed November 20, 2003.
  147. Wilson, "U.S. Fatherhood Initiatives," accessed November 12, 2006.
  148. Ibid.
  149. Gavanoas, "The Fatherhood Responsibility Movement," 217–19.
  150. Gavanoas, *Fatherhood Politics in the United States*, 7, 70–72.
  151. Ibid., 76–78.
  152. Ibid., 80.
  153. Wilson, "U.S. Fatherhood Initiatives."
  154. Solomon-Fears, "Promoting Responsible Fatherhood."

155. United States Department of Health and Human Services, "HHS' Fatherhood Initiative: Toolkit for Fatherhood," accessed November 29, 2005.
156. Lipscomb, "The Legislative Marriage Agenda and Its Potential Meaning for Programs Serving Low-Income Families," accessed November 12, 2006, 4.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid., 4–5.
159. Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Passport Denial," accessed November 12, 2006.
160. Neubeck, *When Welfare Disappears*, 130.
161. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "HHS' Fatherhood Initiative: Improving Opportunities for Low-Income Fathers," accessed November 29, 2006.
162. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Head Start and the Fatherhood Initiative," accessed November 12, 2006.
163. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "The National Head Start Institute on Father Involvement," accessed November 12, 2006.
164. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Head Start and the Fatherhood Initiative."
165. Sacks, "National Fatherhood Initiative Attacks Black Fathers," accessed November 10, 2006; and Sacks and Brass, "National Fatherhood Initiative's Ad Campaign Insults African-American Fathers," accessed November 10, 2006.
166. U.S. Senator Evan Bay, "Fatherhood," accessed November 10, 2006.
167. The State of the African American Male Conference, November 14, 2003, Washington, DC.
168. Local Urban League chapters from Jacksonville, Florida to Washington, D.C., have sponsored responsible fatherhood programming, for instance. Jacksonville Urban League, "Head Start Program," accessed November 12, 2006; and Youson, "Responsible Fatherhood," accessed November 12, 2006. Also, in 2004 the National Urban League developed "a Commission on the Black Male for a year-long look at the challenges black men face." Herman, "The Unspoken Racial Component to Bush's Fatherhood Initiative," accessed October 14, 2005. For a list of the national staff of the National fatherhood initiative see, National Fatherhood Initiative, "National Programming Team," accessed November 12, 2006.
169. Robert Smith, comments shared as an audience member during the question-and-answer segment of a panel discussion at The Annual Meeting Of The National Conference Of Black Political Scientists in Chicago, Illinois, March 1997; and Jordan-Zachery, "The Meeting of Black Nationalism and Fatherhood Initiatives."

## Chapter 4   “A Threat from Within”: The Black Woman as Traitor in African American Thought and Politics

1. Cummings, “Politics, Black Women and Easy Prey,” 84.
2. Alarcon, “Traddutora, Traditora,” 110–33.
3. *Ibid.*, 112.
4. This is why I focus on the controversy involving Marion Barry and Mel Reynolds, for instance, as opposed to the more popularly known controversy regarding Anita Hill’s accusations of sexual harassment during Clarence Thomas’s hearings for nomination to the Supreme Court.
5. Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. calls for, and through his collection contributes to, a consideration of the legacy of the Black Power era in the present. Glaude, *Is It Nation Time?* 18.
6. Spillers, “The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual,” 103–04.
7. *Ibid.*, 103.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 190.
11. Karriem, *Black Woman Back Door to Racism*.
12. As an increasing number of Black and postmodern scholars have argued, community is a term that is often used to support reactionary politics within groups and is a term whose time has come for reexamination. Adolph Reed, Jr., has argued, for instance, that the term generally facilitates a conception of African Americans that does not allow for complexity and/or dissent. See Sherman, “Fighting Words,” 40. See also Spillers, “The Crisis,” 102.
13. Fernandes, *Producing Workers*, 159.
14. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*; Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Jewell, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond*; and Cole, *Conversations*. For an alternative typology featuring the “non-feminist,” “depreciated sex object,” and “loser image” of Black women, see King, “The Political Role of the Stereotyped Image of the Black Woman in America,” 24–44.
15. Christian, quoted in *Ethnic Notions*.
16. Jewell, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond*, 38.
17. Stephens and Phillips, “Freaks, Gold Diggers, Divas, and Dykes,” 8–9; and Jewell, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond*, 40. For an in-depth discussion of the Jezebel and Mammy figures in relationship to slavery see, White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?*
18. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 73–75.
19. Jewell, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond*, 46.
20. Davis, “Reflections on the Black Woman’s Role in the Community of Slaves,” 84.

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 88–94.
24. For a discussion of how a focus on the Othello syndrome has supplanted attention to the sexual victimization of Black women at the hands of White men, see Daileader, *Racism, Misogyny, and the Othello Myth*.
25. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 25.
26. Ibid., 25–26.
27. Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” 236.
28. Collins, *Fighting Words*, 160.
29. Ibid., 169.
30. Ibid., 168–69.
31. Ibid., 174.
32. Ibid., 172.
33. Neal, “The Black Arts Movement,” 236.
34. Ibid., 242.
35. Ibid., 243–44.
36. Ibid., 244.
37. Ibid., 243.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 243–44.
42. Wahneema Lubiano refers to the image of the professional Black woman who is the recipient of affirmative action as the “Black Lady.” For further discussion of the welfare queen and Black lady figures, see Lubiano, “Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels,” 342–44.
43. Karriem, *Black Woman*, xiii.
44. Ibid., 55.
45. Ibid., 76.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 50.
48. Norton’s 1985 *New York Times* article, “Restoring the Traditional Black Family,” contends that the mythical, presumably nuclear Black (male supremacist) family can be restored by eradicating “the complicated predatory ghetto subculture” and by looking inward and fighting for government training programs that focus on “changing lifestyles as well as imparting skills and education.” Quoted in Davis, *Women, Culture, and Politics*, 83.
49. Karriem, *Black Woman*, 65.
50. Farrakhan, “The Black Man.”
51. Farrakhan, “The Black Man.”
52. Farrakhan, “The Nature of Woman.”
53. Farrakhan, “Farrakhan Speaks to Newark, NJ.”
54. Farrakhan, “The Black Man.”
55. Shange, *for colored girls who have considered suicide, when the rainbow is enuf*; and Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. The

- works of other Black women have also come under similar scrutiny, although not always to the same degree and accompanying public uproar. Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* also generated a heightened level of criticism. Walker, *The Color Purple*. For a discussion of the heated controversy surrounding Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, see Watkins, "Sexism, Racism and Black Women Writers," sec. 7.
56. Jones, "Loving Themselves Fiercely 20 Years Later," 20; and Lester, "At the Heart of Shange's Feminism," 717.
  57. Jones, "Loving Themselves Fiercely 20 Years Later," 20; and Lester, "At the Heart of Shange's Feminism," 718.
  58. Lester, "At the Heart of Shange's Feminism," 718.
  59. Interestingly, although she gave Wallace's book a scathing review, Julianne Malveaux insisted that there was a distinction between Wallace's work and Ntozake Shange's. According to Malveaux, Shange's work was merely a poem, and therefore not polemical, presented only one woman's perspective and did not generalize, and was catapulted to greater visibility because of its success in ostensibly "grassroots" forums, such as "Women's Studies Departments, bars, cafes, and poetry centers . . ." Malveaux, "The Sexual Politics of Black People," 33.
  60. Lester, "At the Heart of Shange's Feminism," 717.
  61. Trescott, "Black Feminist Theorist on the Front Line," sec. B.
  62. Williams, "Comment on the Curb," 50.
  63. Jones, "Loving Themselves Fiercely 20 Years Later," 20; and Williams, "Comment on the Curb," 49.
  64. Toure, "Black Male/Female Relations," 46.
  65. Karenga, "On Wallace's Myths," 36–37.
  66. Williams, "Comment on the Curb," 49.
  67. Staples, "The Myth of Black Macho," 24–25.
  68. *Ibid.*, 31.
  69. Poussaint, "White Manipulation and Black Oppression," 52.
  70. *Ibid.*, 53.
  71. Jones, "The Need to Go Beyond Stereotypes," 48.
  72. *Ibid.*
  73. Toure, "Black Male/Female Relationship," 45.
  74. *Ibid.*, 46.
  75. *Ibid.*
  76. *Ibid.*
  77. *Ibid.*
  78. Lorde, "The Great American Disease"; Ya Salam, "Revolutionary Struggle/Revolutionary Love," 21; and Jordan, "Black Women Haven't 'Got it All,'" 39–40.
  79. See Walker, *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens*, xi–xii. Although originally coined by Alice Walker, womanism has proven to be a rather malleable concept supporting according to Patricia Hill Collins, at least three distinct modes of identification: "[1] black nationalism via her claims of black women's moral and epistemological superiority via suffering under racial

- and gender oppression, [2] pluralism via the cultural integrity provided by the metaphor of the garden, and [3] integration/assimilation via her claims that black women are 'traditionally universalist.' " Collins, "What's In a Name?," 11.
80. See, e.g., Cannon, *Black Womanist Ethics*; Katie's Canon: *Womanism and the Soul of the Black Community*; Grant, *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus*; and Brown, "Womanist Consciousness," 610–33.
  81. Burrow, "Enter Womanist Theology and Ethics," 24.
  82. *Ibid.*, 23.
  83. Katie Cannon, quoted in Burow, "Enter Womanist Theology and Ethics," 23.
  84. For a more extensive discussion of Africana womanism, see Alexander-Floyd and Simien, "'What's in a Name?' Reconsidered: Exploring the Contours of Africana Womanist Thought," 67–89.
  85. See, e.g., Verner, "Brenda Verner Examines 'Liberated' Sisters," 22–24; and "Her Say," sec. 6.
  86. Verner, "Africana Womanism: Why Feminism Has Failed to Lure Black Women," 4–5. Verner names those Black feminists who supposedly "knowingly" betray Black people as "judas-goat black feminists," but, importantly, her various characterizations of Black feminists implicitly cast all of them as race traitors.
  87. *Ibid.*
  88. *Ibid.*, 3.
  89. Verner, "Her Say."
  90. Hutchinson, *The Assassination of the Black Male Image*, 47.
  91. For a general indication of Marion Barry's role in SNCC, see Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 246, 262, 306, and 315.
  92. Morley, "Barry and His City," 236–37; and Mackenzie, "Racism or Justice?," 30.
  93. Morley, "Barry and His City," 238.
  94. Willrich, "Department of Self Services," 29.
  95. *Ibid.*
  96. Anekwe, "The Law Finally Caught Up with Mayor Marion Barry."
  97. Brower et al., "A Wife Endures Trial by Scandal," 36.
  98. Willrich, "Department of Self Services," 32.
  99. Anekwe, "The Law Finally Caught Up with Mayor Marion Barry."
  100. *Ibid.*
  101. *Ibid.*
  102. Brower et al., "A Wife Endures Trial by Scandal," 36.
  103. *Ibid.*
  104. Anekwe, "The Law Finally Caught Up with Mayor Marion Barry."
  105. Mackenzie, "Racism or Justice?" 30.
  106. *Ibid.*
  107. *Ibid.*
  108. *Ibid.*, 30–31.

109. Anderson, "Racism and Entrapment," 32.
110. Mackenzie, "Racism or Justice?" 31.
111. Ruffins, "Washington's Black Press," 121.
112. Ibid., 121–22, 124.
113. Ibid., 122.
114. "FBI Video Tape Becomes Key Element in Barry Trial," 16.
115. Riley, " 'I Guess You All Figured that I Couldn't Resist that Lady,' " 19.
116. This observation comes from my own firsthand experience, as I was a U.S. Senate Intern the summer of Barry's trial.
117. Herard, " 'We Had Sex.' "
118. "Mel Reynolds' Accuser Beverly Heard Says She Feels Remorse About Lying," 11.
119. Gonnerman, "Reynolds Wrap-Up," 25.
120. "Accuser of U.S. Rep Mel Reynolds Says She Lied about His Sexually Assaulting Her," 24.
121. "Mel Reynolds' Accuser Beverly Heard Says She Feels Remorse about Lying," 12.
122. "Accuser of U.S. Rep Mel Reynolds Says She Lied about His Sexually Assaulting Her," 24.
123. Herard, " 'We Never Had Sex.' "
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. Herard, "Reynolds Unwraps on Stand."
127. Ibid.
128. "Opening Arguments in Reynolds Trial: Embattled Congressman Ready to Defend Himself Against Sex Charges."
129. Herard, "Tale of the Tapes: Prosecution Hopes 'Authentic' Recording of Sex Conversations Provide Knockout Blow to Reynolds."
130. Herard, "Reynolds' Trial Heats Up: Former Aide, Defense Lawyer Get into Shouting Match over Credibility, Vengeance Motive."
131. Herard, "Reynolds Rapped Again."
132. "Rep. Mel Reynolds Facing Four More Charges," *Congressional Quarterly*, May 7, 1995, 1226.
133. Gonnerman, "Reynolds Wrap-Up," 25.
134. "Chicago Congressman Mel Reynolds Sentenced to Five Years on Sexual Assault and Abuse Charges," 64.
135. Herard, "Heard On the Hot Seat: One-time Reynolds Accuser Set to Return to Court but Still May Not Testify"; and Strausberg, "Jackson Says Reynolds Being Hounded."
136. Ransby, "Beverly Heard and Voters Are the Victims, Not Mel Reynolds."
137. DuCille, *Skin Trade*, 11. DuCille refers to her own "family romance" growing up, which told her and her brother what they would do for the race. I adapt this term here, as noted in the text, to suggest a scripted notion of black female/male unity in relationships. To parallel DuCille's usage, the Black family romance suggests that what Black men and



- women can do for the race is to project a unified front and deal with any conflict outside of the listening ear of non-Blacks.
138. "Moseley-Braun Seeks to Reclaim Role Model Status."
  139. "Congressional Black Caucus Uncommitted On Sharpton, Moseley-Braun."
  140. Ibid.
  141. Anderson, "And Now there Are Eight (So Far)."
  142. Harris and Schneider, "Who Is the Front-Runner?" accessed August 12, 2003.
  143. Muwakkil, "Fear of a Black Candidate"; McGrory, "The Parade for President," sec. B; and "Moseley Braun Seeks to Reclaim Role Model Status."
  144. Muwakkil, "Fear of a Black Candidate."
  145. Siegel, "Rev. Al No Longer Only Black Prez Hopeful."
  146. Muwakkil, "Fear of a Black Candidate."
  147. Ibid.
  148. Muwakkil, "Fear of a Black Candidate"; and Siegel, "Rev. Al No Longer Only Black Prez Hopeful," 38.
  149. Anderson, "And Now there Are Eight (So Far)," sec. B.
  150. "Congressional Black Caucus Uncommitted On Sharpton, Moseley-Braun"; and "Honoring United States Senator Carol Moseley-Braun."
  151. "Moseley Braun Seeks to Reclaim Role Model Status"; and "Moseley-Braun Enters 2002 Presidential Race."
  152. DuCille, *Skin Trade*, 65.
  153. Cole and Guy-Sheftall, *Gender Talk*, 94.
  154. Ibid., 96.
  155. White, "Africa on My Mind," 81.

## Conclusion "When and Where I Enter": Gender and Black Feminist Praxis in the Study and Interpretation of Black Politics

1. As Black literary critic Kathy L. Glass observes, "Cooper was one of the first black feminist writers to theorize about the diversity of women's voices. Contemporary critics correctly observe, however, that Cooper's nineteenth-century writings reflected many of the conventions of her time. In particular, Cooper seems to discount racial differences, referring to *women* as 'woman,' and to *black women* as 'The Black Woman.' Along with Karen Baker-Fletcher, I would suggest that 'such language appears to represent women as a monolithic group and fails to capture the pluralism Cooper sought to embrace' (1994, 20)." Glass, "Tending the Roots," 34. I would add that Cooper's adoption of "conventions" of

the day, including those such as civilizationist ideas she shared with nationalists, reflects the mutually constitutive nature of Black and White U.S. nationalisms, and the middle-class biases that often dominate Black politics.

2. Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, 30–31.
3. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*.
4. *Ibid.*, 71.
5. *Ibid.*, 80.
6. Since the assumption of a monolithic racial community is a cornerstone of Black Studies, there has been primacy placed on racial solidarity in ways that stifle analysis of controversy and politics internal to the Black community. The notion of racial community, just as a notion of women's community, needs to be radically deconstructed. Otherwise the intra-political dynamics will continue to be given short shrift in Black studies analysis.
7. Adolph Reed, Jr., argues that analysis of Black politics in political science fails to grapple with political dynamics internal to the Black community. Reed, "Reflections on Atlanta University Political Science."
8. Reed, "Black Particularity Reconsidered," 52–53.
9. Lubiano, "Standing in for the State," 160–61.
10. *Ibid.*
11. For an excellent critique of the residual theory of the Black community that suggests that Black academics are by definition outside of the "authentic" Black community, see Jones, "The Responsibility of the Black Political Scientist to the Black Community," 9–10.
12. The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement."
13. For a discussion of the difficulty of fomenting feminist revolution in sociology, see Alway, "The Trouble with Gender," 209–28. I have discussed this issue with Harris and Jordan-Zachery, particularly the irony that many political scientists (who are not Black feminists) engage questions about gender and Black politics in general and the theory of intersectionality in particular as if it were "new."
14. Barriteau, "Confronting Power, Theorizing Gender in the Commonwealth Caribbean."
15. Lindsay, "The Black Male as an 'Endangered Species?'"
16. Ryan Cobb examines different denominations in relationship to contemporary politics, for instance. Cobb, "Engaged Orthodoxy and the Megachurch."
17. For an example of religious thinking that can serve as a potential, if incomplete, starting point for such theorizing, see Wallis, *God's Politics*.
18. Farrakhan, "Million Man March 10th Anniversary Statement," accessed October 28, 2005.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Whitaker, "Alice Walker," 87.

23. Alice Walker, quoted in Whitaker, "Alice Walker," 88.
24. Alice Walker, quoted in Whitaker, "Alice Walker," 90.
25. DuCille, *Skin Trade*, 78–79.
26. Ibid.
27. Jones, "Loving Themselves Fiercely 20 Years Later," 21.
28. Ibid., 20.
29. Ibid., 21.
30. Ibid.
31. Robert Carr explains that Wallace's reaction to her work, her "sense of regret" regarding the publication of *Black Macho*, is part of what inspired him to think through the gender politics of the Black power movement via the Black Panther Party. Carr, *Black Nationalism in the New World*, 22. For his discussion of the gender politics that marked the Black Panther Party, see Carr, "The Masculinization of Mothering," 186–224.
32. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, xxi.
33. Wallace, "Memoirs of a Premature Bomb-Thrower," 36. In fact, Wallace returned to school because the reaction to her work, "left [her] feeling uninformed . . .": *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, xxvii. As Rose Harris has noted, ironically, although her later work has been more generously received, it was only after she was legitimized by further academic training in White institutions. For an excellent collection of Wallace's work on visual culture, which includes further discussion of her experiences in publishing *Black Macho*, see Wallace, *Michele Wallace*.
34. Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, xxxviii.
35. Collins, for instance, labels *Black Macho* an "admittedly flawed volume" in the same sentence in which she laments the "virulent reaction" to Wallace and other Black women's writings. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 9. Michele Wallace talks about her disappointment in reviewing a collection of interviews of Black women writers in which she is "mentioned again and again, usually with disdain . . . because of [her] first book . . ." Wallace, "Black Women Writers: A False Sense of Security?" 7.
36. Wallace, "Variations on Negation and the Heresy of Black Feminist Creativity," 66.

## Bibliography

- Aberbach, Joel D. "The Political Significance of the George W. Bush Administration." *Social Policy & Administration* 39, no. 2 (2005): 130–49.
- "Accuser of U.S. Rep Mel Reynolds Says She Lied about His Sexually Assaulting Her," *Jet*, January 30, 1995.
- Ackerman, David M. "Public Aid to Faith-Based Organizations (Charitable Choice) in the 107th Congress: Background and Selected Legal Issues." CRS Report for Congress, Updated August 19, 2003.
- Adeleke, Tunde. *UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998.
- Administration for Children and Families. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "Passport Denial." <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cse/newhire/library/brochures/fpls/passport.htm>.
- Akbar, Naim. *Visions for Black Men*. Nashville, TN: Winston-Derek Publishers, 1991.
- Alarcon, Norma. "Traduttora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism." In *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, edited by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, 110–33. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G. "Theorizing Race and Gender in Black Studies: Reflections on Recent Examinations of Black Political Leadership." *International Journal of Africana Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 57–73.
- . "Interdisciplinarity, Black Politics, and the Million Man March: A Case Study." In *An Introduction to Interdisciplinary Studies*, edited by Michael Herndon, 90–110. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 2004.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G. and Candace Y. Hurst. "The Endangered Black Male Phenomenon: Toward a Critical Understanding of the Black Male Dilemma and the Status of Black Families," Paper prepared for Marriage and the Family, Southern University and A&M College, 1991.
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G. and Evelyn M. Simien, "'What's in a Name?' Reconsidered: Exploring the Contours of Africana Womanist Thought." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 27, no. 1 (2006): 67–89.
- Allen, Ernest, Jr., "Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Continuing Evolution of the Nation of Islam." In *The Farrakhan Factor: African-American Writers on Leadership, Nationhood, and Minister Louis Farrakhan*, edited Amy Alexander, 52–102. New York: Grove Press, 1998.
- Alway, Joan. "The Trouble with Gender: Tales of the Still-Missing Feminist Revolution in Sociological Theory." *Sociological Theory* 13, no. 3 (1995): 209–28.

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983.
- Anderson, Charles-Edward. "Racism and Entrapment: Critics Claim Black Officials Singled Out for Prosecution." *ABA Journal*, November 1990, 32.
- Anderson, Lee. "And Now there Are Eight (So Far)." *Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee)*, Metro, sec. B.
- Anekwe, Simon. "The Law Finally Caught Up with Mayor Marion Barry." *N. Y. Amsterdam News*, January 27, 1990.
- Ansell, Amy. *New Right, New Racism: Race and Reaction in the United States and Britain*. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1997.
- Asante, Molefi K. "A Review of Michael C. Dawson, *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African American Political Ideologies*." <http://www.asante.net/articles/DAWSON.html> (accessed December 1, 2006).
- Austin, Bobby William, ed. *Repairing the Breach: Key Ways to Support Family Life, Reclaim Our Streets, and Rebuild Civil Society in America's Communities*. Dillon, CO: Alpine Guild, Inc., 1996.
- Barker, Lucius J., Mack H. Jones, and Katherine Tate. *African Americans and the American Political System*, 4th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999.
- Barriteau, Violet Eudine, "Confronting Power, Theorizing Gender in the Commonwealth Caribbean." In *Confronting Power, Theorizing Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives in the Caribbean*, edited by Eudine Barriteau, 3–24. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2003.
- . "Confronting Power and Politics: A Feminist Theorizing of Gender in Commonwealth Caribbean Societies." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 3, no. 2 (2003): 57–92.
- Bay, Evan. "Fatherhood." [http://bayh.senate.gov/issues\\_fatherhood.html](http://bayh.senate.gov/issues_fatherhood.html).
- Beale, Frances. "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female." In *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, edited by Toni Cade, 90–100. New York: New American Library, 1970.
- Bell, Derrick. *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.
- Bennett, Brian. "True Confessions?" *Time*, December 12, 2005. <http://proquest.umi.com/>.
- Berger, Michele Tracy. *Workable Sisterhood: The Political Journey of Stigmatized Women with HIV/AIDS*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Black, Amy, Douglas Koopman, and David Ryden. *Of Little Faith: The Politics of George W. Bush's Faith-Based Initiatives*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004.
- "Black Leaders Vow Support for Men's Rally Farrakhan Jibes Won't Halt March." *Star Ledger*, October 20, 1995.
- Bond, Jean Carey and Carole E. Gregory. "Two Views of Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman." *Freedomways* 19, no. 1 (1979): 13–26.

- Boston, Thomas D. *Race, Class, and Conservatism*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988.
- Boyd, Herb and Robert L. Allen. *Brotherman: The Odyssey of Black Men in America—An Anthology*. New York: One World, Ballantine Books, 1996.
- Brower, Montgomery, Katy Kelly, and Tom Nugent. "A Wife Endures Trial by Scandal," *People*, July 1990.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke." *Signs* 14, no. 3 (1989): 610–33.
- Brown, Kevin. "The Dilemma of Legal Discourse for Public Educational Responses to the 'Crisis' Facing African-American Males." *Capital University Law Review* 23 (1994): 63–129.
- Brown, Robert A. and Todd C. Shaw. "Separate Nations: Two Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism." *The Journal of Politics* 64, no. 1 (2002): 22–44.
- Brown, Scot. *Fighting for US: Maulana Karenga, The US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism*. New York: New York University Press, 2003.
- Burrow, Jr., Rufus. "Enter Womanist Theology and Ethics." *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 22, no. 1 (1988): 19–29.
- "Bush Budget Spells Cuts, Changes across Anti-Poverty Programs." *Economic Opportunity Report*, February 14, 2005, 36. <http://find.galegroup.com> (accessed November 17, 2005).
- Bush, George W. "Rallying the Armies of Compassion." <http://www.whiteshouse.gov/news/reprots/faithbased.pdf>.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- . *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Calhoun-Brown, Allison. "What a Fellowship: Civil Society, African American Churches, and Public Life." In *New Day Begun: African American Churches and Civic Culture in Post-Civil Rights America*, edited by R. Drew Smith, 38–57. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Callaghan, Karen and Frauke Schnell, eds. *Framing American Politics*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Cannon, Katie G. *Black Womanist Ethics*. Atlanta, GA.: Scholars Press, 1988.
- . *Katie's Canon: Womanism and the Soul of the Black Community*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997.
- Carr, Robert. *Black Nationalism in the New World: Reading the African-American and West Indian Experience*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Carroll, Susan J. and Linda M.G. Zerilli. "Feminist Challenges to Political Science." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ada Finifter, 55–76. Washington, DC: The American Political Science Association, 1993.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. United Nations University, 1986.

- "Chicago Congressman Mel Reynolds Sentenced to Five Years on Sexual Assault and Abuse Charges." *Jet*, October 16, 1995, 64.
- Christian, Barbara. "Fixing Methodologies: *Beloved*." In *Female Subjects in Black and White: Race, Psychoanalysis, Feminism*, edited by Elizabeth Abel, Barbara Christian, and Helene Moglen, 363–70. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1997.
- Cleaver, Kathleen and George Katsiaficas, eds. *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- "Clinton Woos the Black Vote with U-Turn on March." *Times of London*, October 14, 1995.
- Cobb, Ryan. "Engaged Orthodoxy and the Megachurch: A Contemporary Expression of Black Power." Paper presented at Race Roots Resistance: Revisiting the Legacies of Black Power Conference, Urbana-Champaign, IL, March 30, 2006.
- Cohen, Cathy. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Cohen, Cathy, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, eds. *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Cole, Johnetta B. *Conversations: Straight Talk with America's Sister President*. New York: Anchor Books, 1994.
- Cole, Johnetta B. and Beverly Guy-Sheftall. *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African American Communities*. New York: One World Ballantine Books, 2003.
- Collier-Thomas, Betty and V.P. Franklin, eds. *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights Black Power Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- . "What's In a Name?: Womanism, Black Feminism, and Beyond." *The Black Scholar* 26, no. 1 (1997): 9–17.
- . *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- . *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.
- The Combahee River Collective. "A Black Feminist Statement." In *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies*, edited by Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, 13–22. Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982.
- "Congressional Black Caucus Uncommitted on Sharpton, Moseley-Braun." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*, February 26, 2003. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.
- Connor, Walker. "A Nation Is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a . . . ." In *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, 90–117. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

- Cooper, Anna Julia. *A Voice from the South*. New York: Oxford University Press, reprint 1988.
- "Courting Black Concerns." CBCNewsonline, October 22, 2004. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/uselection2004/blackconcerns.html>.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Anti-Racist Politics." In *Feminist Legal Theory: Readings in Law and Gender*, edited by Katherine T. Bartlett and Roseanne Kennedy, 57–80. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.
- Cummings, Marc A. "Politics, Black Women and Easy Prey." *Emerge*, December/January 1995.
- Curry, George E. "The Message and the Messenger." *Emerge Magazine*, January 1996.
- Daileader, Celia R. *Racism, Misogyny, and the Othello Myth: Inter-racial Couples from Shakespeare to Spike Lee*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Davis, Angela. "Michele Wallace: A Critical Evaluation." *Freedomways* 19, no. 3 (1979): 158–60.
- . "Slaying the Dream: The Black Family and the Crisis of Capitalism (with Fania Davis)." In *Women, Culture, and Politics*, 73–90. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- . *Women, Culture, and Politics*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- . "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves." In *A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*, edited by Floyd W. Hayes, III, 83–96. San Diego, CA: Collegiate Press, 2000.
- Davis, Darren W. and Ronald E. Brown. "The Antipathy of Black Nationalism: Behavioral and Attitudinal Implications of an African American Ideology." *American Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 2 (2002): 239–52.
- Dawson, Michael. "Slowly Coming to Grip with the Effects of the American Racial Order on American Policy Preferences." In *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*, edited by David Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo, 344–57. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- . *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Dawson, Michael and Cathy Cohen. "Problems in the Study of the Politics of Race." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katz Nelson and Helen V. Milner, 488–510. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.
- Delgado, Richard. *The Rodrigo Chronicles: Conversations about America and Race*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- "The Departure of John DiIulio means George Bush Officially becomes the President of White America." *Washington Post*, August 18, 2001. <http://mediatransparency.org/> (accessed November 10, 2006).
- "Dethroning the Welfare Queen: The Rhetoric of Reform." *Harvard Law Review* 107 (1994): 2013–30.



- DiIulio, John. "Supporting Black Churches." *The Brookings Review* 17, no. 2 (1999): 42–45. <http://proquest.umi.com/>.
- Duchan, Judith Felson. *Frame Work in Language and Literacy: How Theory Informs Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2004.
- DuCille, Anne. *Skin Trade*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Entman, Robert M. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Ethnic Notions*, prod. and dir. Marlon Riggs, 54min. California Newsreel, 1986, videocassette.
- Farrakhan, Louis. "The Plight of the Black Male." Audiotape of speech delivered by Louis Farrakhan at the Malcolm X Academy in Detroit, Michigan, March 27, 1993.
- . "The Black Man: A Threat to White Male Supremacy." Audiotape of speech delivered by Louis Farrakhan in Washington, DC, March 21, 1994.
- . "The Nature of Woman." Audiotape of speech presented in Boston, MA, July 27, 1994.
- . "Farrakhan Speaks to Newark, NJ." Audiotape of speech presented in Newark, NJ, April 28, 1995.
- . "Toward a More Perfect Union: Million Man March Address." In *Let Us Make Man, Select Men Only and Women Only Speeches by: Minister Louis Farrakhan*, edited by Brother Yusuf and Sister Shah'Keyah, 125–50. New York: Uprising Communications, 1996.
- . *Let Us Make Man, Select Men Only and Women Only Speeches by: Minister Louis Farrakhan*. Edited by Brother Yusuf and Sister Shah'Keyah. New York: Uprising Communications, 1996.
- . "Million Man March 10th Anniversary Statement." <http://www.millionsmoremovement.com/declaation.htm> (retrieved October 28, 2005).
- "FBI Video Tape Becomes Key Element in Barry Trial." *Jet*, July 16, 1990.
- Fernandes, Leela. *Producing Workers: The Politics of Gender, Class, and Culture in the Calcutta Jute Mills*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- . *Transforming Feminist Practice: Non-Violence, Social Justice and the Possibilities of a Spiritualized Feminism*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2003.
- Formicola, Jo Renee. "The Good in the Faith-Based Initiative." In *Faith-Based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, edited by Jo Renee Formicola, Mary C. Segers, and Paul Weber, 25–61. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- Formicola, Jo Renee and Mary Segers. "The Ugly Politics of the Faith-Based Initiative" In *Faith-Based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, edited by Jo Renee Formicola, Mary C. Segers, and Paul Weber, 115–60. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- Frankenberg, Erica and Chungmei Lee. "Race in American Public Schools: Rapidly Resegregating School Districts." Report by the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, August 2002.

- Frankenberg, Ruth and Lata Mani. "Crosscurrents, Crosstalk: Race, 'Post-Coloniality' and the Politics of Location." *Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (1993), 292–310.
- Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988.
- Fraser, Nancy and Linda J. Nicholson. "Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism." In *Feminism/Postmodernism*, edited by Linda J. Nicholson, 19–38. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Freedberg, Louis. "Farrakhan Considers Jews 'Bloodsuckers': Remarks Taint March's Goal." *Times Picayune*, October 14, 1995, third edition.
- Fischer, Frank. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Galambos, Colleen M. "Health Care Coverage for Poor Women: Dwindling Support." *Health and Social Work* 31, no. 1 (2006): 3–6.
- Gallup Poll. "African-American Leaders/Louis Farrakhan." *The Gallup Poll*, November 10, 1995, 163–65.
- Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man*. New York: Random House, 1997.
- Gavanas, Anna. "The Fatherhood Responsibility Movement: The Centrality of Marriage, Work and Male Sexuality in Reconstructions of Masculinity and Fatherhood." In *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood*, edited by Barbara Hobson, 213–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . *Fatherhood Politics in the United States: Masculinity, Sexuality, Race, and Marriage*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Gay, Claudine and Katherine Tate, "Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women," *Political Psychology* 19, no. 1 (1998): 169–84.
- George, J. Carroll. *The Black Male Crisis: Evaluating the Growing Crisis among African-American Males*. Cincinnati: A Zulema Publication, 1993.
- Giddings, Paula. "The Lessons of History Will Shape the 1980s—'Black Macho & the Myth of the Superwoman' Won't." *Encore American & Worldwide News*, March 19, 1979.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Glass, Kathy. "Tending the Roots: Anna Julia Cooper's Sociopolitical Thought and Activism." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 6, no. 1 (2005): 23–55.
- Glaude, Eddie S., Jr., ed. *Is it Nation Time?: Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Goldberg, David Theo. *The Racial State*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Golden, Thelma. *Black Male: Representations of Masculinity in Contemporary American Art*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994.

- Goldsmith, Stephen. *Putting Faith in Neighborhoods: Making Cities Work through Grassroots Citizenship*. Noblesville, IN: Hudson Institute Publications, 2002.
- Gonnerman, Jennifer. "Reynolds Wrap-Up: A Juror Tells All in the Congressman's Sex Trial." *Village Voice*, September 5, 1995.
- Grant, Jacquelyn. *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus*. Atlanta, GA.: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Guy-Sheftall, Beverly. "Introduction: The Evolution of Feminist Consciousness among African American Women." In *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, edited by Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 1–22. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.
- Hare, Nathan and Julia Hare. *The Endangered Black Family: Coping with the Unisexualization and Coming Extinction of the Black Race*. San Francisco, CA: Black Think Tank, 1984.
- Harris, Duchess. "From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective: Black Feminist Organizing, 1960–1980." In *Sisters in the Struggle: African-American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, edited by Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, 280–305. New York: New York University Press, 2001.
- Harris, Leon and William Schneider. "Who is the Front-Runner?" *CNN Live Today*, February 19, 2003. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.
- Harris, Ron. "NAACP Seeks Solutions to Crisis of Black Males." *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1990.
- Harris, Rose. "Countering the Backlash: A Feminist Critique of the 'Endangered Black Male Phenomenon.'" M.A. thesis, Howard University, 1991.
- . "Signifying Race and Gender in Feminist Theory." Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1999.
- , ed. "The African American Political Woman: A Reader" (unpublished manuscript).
- Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. "No Place to Rest: African American Political Attitudes and the Myth of Black Women's Strength." *Women & Politics* 23, no. 3 (2001): 1–33.
- . *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Harrison, Barbara and Debbi Lockhart. *Radio TV Reports*, October 13, 1995.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. "Confounding Gender." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22, no. 3 (1997): 649–83.
- . "Engendering Political Science: An Immodest Proposal." *Politics & Gender* 1, no. 1 (2005): 141–56.
- Hawkins, Larycia A. "Follow the Civil Rights Road: Black Capture Meets the Faith-Based and Community Initiative." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2005.

- Hayes, Floyd W. III. "Race, Urban Politics, and Educational Policymaking in Washington, D.C.: A Community's Struggle for Quality Education." In *A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*, edited by Floyd W. Hayes III, 399–411. San Diego, CA: Collegiate Press, 2000.
- Henderson, Errol A. "War, Political Cycles, and the Pendulum Thesis: Explaining the Rise of Black Nationalism, 1840–1996." In *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*, edited by Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, 337–74. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- Herard, Vladimire. "Reynolds Rapped Again." *Chicago Defender*, April 20, 1995.
- . "Tale of the Tapes: Prosecution Hopes 'Authentic' Recording of Sex Conversations Provide Knockout Blow to Reynolds." *Chicago Defender*, July 26, 1995.
- . "Reynolds' Trial Heats Up: Former Aide, Defense Lawyer Get into Shouting Match Over Credibility, Vengeance Motive." *Chicago Defender*, August 1, 1995.
- . "Heard on the Hot Seat: One-time Reynolds Accuser Set to Return to Court but Still May Not Testify." *Chicago Defender*, August 2, 1995.
- . "'We Had Sex': Heard Testifies in Court of Relationship with Reynolds." *The Chicago Defender*, August 8, 1995.
- . "'We Never Had Sex': Reynolds Denies Relationship with Accuser Heard." *Chicago Defender*, August 15, 1995.
- . "Reynolds Unwraps on Stand: Congressman Loses Temper on Cross-Examination." *Chicago Defender*, August 17, 1995.
- Herman, Ken. "The Unspoken Racial Component to Bush's Fatherhood Initiative." *Cox News Service*, April 29, 2005. <http://lexis-nexis.com/universe/> (accessed October 14, 2005).
- Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy and Michelle L. Yaiser, eds. *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hooks, Bell. *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Hutchinson, Earl Ofari. *The Assassination of the Black Male Image*. Los Angeles: Middle Passage Press, 1994.
- . "Black Evangelicals: Bush's New Trump Card." *Pacific News Service*, January 27, 2005. <http://www.peaceandjustice.org> (accessed January 27, 2005).
- Jacksonville Urban League. "Head Start Program." <http://www.jaxul.org/headstart.html>.
- James, Joy. *Shadowboxing: Representations of Black Feminist Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Jennings, James. *Welfare Reform and the Revitalization of Inner City Neighborhoods*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2003.
- Jewell, K. Sue. *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and the Shaping of US Social Policy*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Johnson, Charles and John McCluskey, Jr., eds. *Black Men Speaking*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.

- Johnson-Cartee, Karen S. *News Narratives and News Framing: Constructing Political Reality*. Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Johnston, Hank and John A. Noakes, eds. *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. "Black Support for President Bush Up According to New Joint Center Poll; Poll Also Shows Blacks Give Bush Dismal Marks for Job Performance and Iraq." News release, October 19, 2004.
- Jones, Charles E., ed. *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998.
- Jones, Lisa. "Loving Themselves Fiercely 20 Years Later." *The Village Voice*, July 11, 1995.
- Jones, Mack. "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics." In *Black Political Life in the United States: A Fist as the Pendulum*, edited by Lenneal Henderson, Jr., 7–20. San Francisco, CA: Chandler, 1972.
- . "The Responsibility of the Black Political Scientist to the Black Community." In *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival: Essays in Honor of a Black Scholar*, edited by Shelby L. Smith, 9–17. Detroit, MI: Balamp Pub., 1977.
- . "NCOBPS: Twenty Years Later." Keynote address, 20th anniversary banquet, annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baton Rouge, LA, March 17, 1989.
- Jones, Terry. "The Need to Go Beyond Stereotypes." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 48–49.
- Jordan, June. "To Be Black and Female," *The New York Times*, n.p., n.d. Quoted in Julianne Malveaux. "The Sexual Politics of Black People: Angry Black Women, Angry Black Men." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 32–33.
- . "Black Women Haven't 'Got It All.'" *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 39–40.
- Jordan-Zachery, Julia. "Agenda Formation: How Symbols Shape Public Policy." Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1997.
- . "Black Womanhood and Social Welfare Policy: The Influence of Her Image on Policy Making." *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 26, no. 3 (2001): 5–24.
- . "The Female Bogeyman: Political Implications of Criminalizing Black Women." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 5, no. 2 (2003): 42–62.
- . "The Meeting of Black Nationalism and Fatherhood Initiatives: Where Does that Leave Black Women?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 27, 2003.
- Joseph, Peniel E., ed. *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

- June, Lee N. and Matthew Parker, eds. *Men to Men: Perspectives of Sixteen African-American Christian Men*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996.
- "Jury Convicts Chicago Congressman Mel Reynolds on Four Counts in Sex Abuse Trial." *Jet*, September 11, 1995.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 429–43.
- Kaplan, Caren. "The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Critical Practice." In *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, edited by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, 137–52. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Karenga, Maulana. "On Wallace's Myths: Wading Thru Troubled Waters." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 36–39.
- Karriem, Kamal. *Black Woman Back Door to Racism*. Frensdale, MI: Digital Media Co., 1992.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.
- Kennedy, Sheila Sues. "Redemption or Rehabilitation?: Charitable Choice and Criminal Justice." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 14, no. 2 (2003): 214–28.
- King, Deborah K. "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of Black Feminist Ideology." *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1988): 42–72.
- King, Mae C. "The Political Role of the Stereotyped Image of the Black Woman in America." In *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival: Essays in Honor of a Black Scholar*, edited by Shelby Lewis Smith, 24–44. Detroit, MI: Balamp Publishing, 1977.
- Kirkpatrick, David D. "The 2004 Campaign: Clergy; Black Pastors Backing Bush Are Rarities, but Not Alone." *The New York Times*, October 5, 2004, National Desk Late Edition Final, sec. A. <http://nytimes.com> (accessed November 10, 2006).
- Kunjufo, Jawanza. *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys*. Chicago: African American Images, 1985.
- . *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys Vol. II*. Chicago: African American Images, 1986.
- . *Countering the Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys Vol. III*. Chicago: African American Images, 1990.
- Kuo, David. *Tempting Faith: An Inside Story of Political Seduction*. New York: Free Press, 2006.
- Landry and MacLean, eds. *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Lattuca, Lisa. *Creating Interdisciplinarity: Interdisciplinary Research and Teaching among College and University Faculty*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001.
- Legette, Willie. "The Crisis of the Black Male: A New Ideology in Black Politics." In *Without Justice for All: The New Liberalism and Our Retreat from Racial Equality*, edited by Adolph Reed, Jr., 291–324. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.

- Leonard, Mary. "Black Clergy Back Bush Initiative." *The Boston Globe*, March 20, 2001. [www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/079/nation/Black\\_clergy\\_back\\_Bush\\_initiative+.shtml](http://www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/079/nation/Black_clergy_back_Bush_initiative+.shtml).
- Lester, Neal A. "At the Heart of Shange's Feminism: An Interview." *Black American Literature Forum* 24, no. 4 (1990): 717–30.
- Levi, Margaret. "The State of the Study of the State." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, 33–55. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.
- Lewis, Shelby, ed. *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival: Essays in Honor of a Black Scholar*. Detroit, MI: Balamp Publishing, 1977.
- Lewis, Shelby, Owanah Anderson, Lucie Cheng, Arlene Fong Craig, Njeri Jackson, Isabella Jenkins, Barbara Jones, Saundra Rice Murray, Marge Rosenswig, Patricia Bell Scott, and Bonnie Wallace. "Achieving Sex Equity for Minority Women." In *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education*, edited by Susan S. Klein, 365–90. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1985.
- Lindsay, Keisha. "The Black Male as an 'Endangered Species?'"—A Discourse Analysis." Paper presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta, GA, March 26, 2004.
- Lipscomb, Allison. "The Legislative Marriage Agenda and Its Potential Meaning for Programs Serving Low-Income Families." Center on Fathers, Families, and Public Policy, May 2001. [http://www.cffpp.org/publications/marriage\\_agenda.html](http://www.cffpp.org/publications/marriage_agenda.html).
- Lorde, Audre. "The Great American Disease." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 17–20.
- Lubiano, Wahneema. "Black Ladies, Welfare Queens, and State Minstrels: Ideological War by Narrative Means." In *Race-ing Justice, En-Gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*, edited and with an introduction by Toni Morrison, 323–63. New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.
- . "Black Nationalism and Black Common Sense: Policing Ourselves and Others." In *The House that Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain*, edited and with an introduction by Wahneema Lubiano, 232–52. New York: Pantheon Books, 1997.
- . "Standing in for the State: Black Nationalism and 'Writing' the Black Subject." In *Is It Nation Time?: Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism*, edited by Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., 156–64. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Lusane, Clarence. *Race in the Global Era: African Americans at the Millennium*. Boston: South End Press, 1997.
- Maasarani, Dina. "Area Speaker Sees Black Males' Crisis," June 26, 1995, sec. A.
- Mackenzie, Hilary. "Racism or Justice?: The Sting in the Trial of Marion Barry." *Maclean's*, August 13, 1990.
- Madhabuti, Haki R. *Black Men: Obsolete, Single, Dangerous?* Chicago: Third World Press, 1990.

- Magnet, Myron. *The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass*. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1993.
- Mahon, Joe. "Poverty in Black and White." *Fedgazette*, November 2006.
- Majors, Richard G. and Jacob U. Gordon, eds. *The American Black Male: His Present Status and His Future*. Chicago: Nelson Hall Publishers, 1994.
- Malveaux, Julianne. "The Sexual Politics of Black People: Angry Black Women, Angry Black Men." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 32–35.
- "Man March Draws Fire from Women." *Tampa Tribune*, October 14, 1995, final edition.
- Marx, Anthony W. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Matthews, Tracye. "No One Ever Asks, What a Man's Place in the Revolution Is: Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party, 1966–1971." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles Jones, 267–304. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998.
- McClain, Paula D. and John A. Garcia. "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries: Black, Latino, and Racial Minority Group Politics in Political Science." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, edited by Ada W. Finifter, 247–78. Washington, DC: The American Political Science Association, 1993.
- McClintock, Anne. "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race." In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, 352–89. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McCormick, Joseph 2d and Sekou Franklin. "Expressions of Racial Consciousness in the African American Community: Data from the Million Man March." In *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*, edited by Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, 315–36. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- McGrory, Mary. "The Parade for President." *The Washington Post*, February 23, 2003, Final Edition, sec. B.
- "Mel Reynolds' Accuser Beverly Heard Says She Feels Remorse about Lying." *Jet*, January 30, 1995.
- Midgette, Thomas E. and Eddie Glen. "African-American Male Academies: A Positive View." *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 21 (1993): 69–78.
- "Million Woman March Mission Statement," Sisters of the Million Woman March homepage. <http://www.mwmsisters.com/mission.htm> (accessed November 8, 2002).
- Mohanty, Chandra T. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, edited by Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, 51–80. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- Monroe, Kristen Renwick. "Interdisciplinary Work and a Search for Shared Scientific Standards." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, no. 2 (2002): 203–05.



- Monroe, Irene. "Louis Farrakhan's Ministry of Misogyny and Homophobia." In *The Farrakhan Factor: African-American Writers on Leadership, Nationhood, and Minister Louis Farrakhan*, edited by Amy Alexander, 287–88. New York: Grove Press, 1998.
- Moore, Teresa. "March Inspires Emotional Debate for Black Women Left Behind Even Those Angered by Exclusion Say." *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 14, 1995.
- Morley, Jefferson. "Barry and His City: Crack in the Washington Culture." *The Nation*, February 19, 1990.
- Morrison, Toni. "Rootedness: The Ancestor as Foundation." In *Black Women Writers (1950–1980): A Critical Evaluation*, edited by Mari Evans, 339–45. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1984.
- "Moseley-Braun Enters 2002 Presidential Race." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*, February 19, 2003. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.
- "Moseley-Braun Seeks to Reclaim Role Model Status." *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*, March 14, 2003. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.
- Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1840–1925*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1978. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1988. (Page references are to the 1988 edition.)
- Moynihan, Patrick. *Miles to Go: A Personal History of Social Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Muhammed, Tynetta, ed. *Million Man March Home Study Guide Manual*. Chicago: Final Call Newspaper Publishing Co. and The Honorable Elijah Muhammad Educational Foundation, 1995.
- Mumby, Dennis K. *Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1993.
- Murray, Charles. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Muwakkil, Salim. "Divided Loyalties." *In These Times*, February 17, 1997.
- . "Fear of a Black Candidate." *In These Times*, February 28, 2003, <http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/271/>.
- Nasta, Susheila, ed. *Motherlands: Black Women's Writing from Africa, the Caribbean and South Asia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "NAACP Opposes Proposed Changes to Social Security: Bush Administration Plan Would Put African American Elderly at Risk." News release, February 3, 2005. <http://www.naacp.org/news/press/2005-02-03/index.html> (accessed November 10, 2006).
- National Fatherhood Initiative. "National Programming Team." <http://www.fatherhood.org/staffnationalprogramming.asp> (accessed November 12, 2006).
- National Urban League. "Executive Summary." *The State of Black America 2006*.
- Neal, Larry. "The Black Arts Movement." In *A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*, edited by Floyd W. Hayes, III, 236–45. San Diego, CA: Collegiate Press, 2000.

- Neubeck, Kenneth J. *When Welfare Disappears: The Case for Economic Human Rights*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Neubeck, Kenneth J. and Noel A. Cazenave. *Welfare Racism: Playing the Race Card against America's Poor*. New York: Routledge Press, 2001.
- "News conference by: Governor Douglas Wilder and Others On: The Conference on Black Males in the 21st Century." Transcript from Federal Information Systems Corporation, Federal News Service, Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, DC, May 22, 1991. <http://www.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.
- Noakes, John and Hank Johnston. "Frames of Protest: A Road Map to a Perspective." In *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*, edited by Hank Johnston and John Noakes, 1–29. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.
- Olasky, Marvin. *The Tragedy of American Compassion*. Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1992. (See esp. Chapter 1, "The Early American Model of Compassion.")
- Olsen, Ted. "As Faith-Based Initiative Controversy Heats Up, Evangelicals Quarrel over Race." *Christianity Today*, March 1, 2001. <http://ctllibrary.com/8017>.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.
- Ong, Aihwa. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.
- Oommen, T.K. "State, Nation, and Ethnie: The Processional Linkages." In "Race," *Ethnicity & Nation: International Perspectives on Social Conflict*, edited by Peter Ratcliffe, 26–46. London: University College London, 1994.
- "Opening Arguments in Reynolds Trial: Embattled Congressman Ready to Defend Himself against Sex Charges." *Chicago Defender*, July 24, 1995.
- Orfield, Gary, Daniel Losen, Johanna Wald, and Christopher B. Swanson. *Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth Are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2004. Contributors: Advocates for Children of New York, The Civil Society Institute.
- Oyewumi, Oyeronke. "De-confounding Gender: Feminist Theorizing and Western Culture, a Comment on Hawkesworth's 'Confounding Gender.'" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 23, no. 4 (1998): 1049–62.
- "The Passion and the Struggle; NAACP Convention Shows Keen Awareness of the Problem." *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1990, sec. B.
- Perkins, Margo V. *Autobiography as Activism: Three Black Women of the Sixties*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000.
- Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 3734. Report 104–725, July 30, 1996.
- Persons, Georgia. "National Politics and Charitable Choice as Urban Policy for Community Development." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 594 (2004): 65–78.
- Pinckney, Darryl E. "Black Women and the Myths of Macho." *The Village Voice*, April 2, 1979, 85–87.

- "The Potter's House and T.D. Jakes Ministries." [http://www.thepotterstouch.com/conference\\_index.html](http://www.thepotterstouch.com/conference_index.html).
- Poussaint, Alvin. "White Manipulation and Black Oppression." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 52–55.
- Power, Carla and Allison Samuels. "Battling for Souls." *Newsweek*, October 30, 1995.
- "President Bush, NAACP Discuss Relations." *The Seattle Times*, December 22, 2004.
- The Press-Enterprise. "Forums to Focus on Minority Issues." November 5, 1992, sec. B.
- Prestage, Jewell, "In Quest of the African American Political Woman." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 515 (1991): 88–103.
- "Prominent Texas Pastor Expressed Concern about 'Faith-Based' Initiative." *Church and State*, October 2004.
- "Racial Disparities in Special Education: National Trends." The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2002. [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/dropouts04.php#reports](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/dropouts04.php#reports).
- Radhakrishnan, R. "Nationalism, Gender and the Narrative of Identity." In *Diasporic Mediations Between Home and Location*, 185–202. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Rainwater, Lee and William Yancey. *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy; a Trans-Action Social Science and Public Policy Report. Including the Full Text of the Negro Family: The Case for National Action by Daniel Patrick Moynihan*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967.
- Ramazanoglu, Caroline with Janet Holland. "Can Feminists Tell the Truth?: Challenges of Scientific Method." In *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*, 41–59. London: Sage Publications, 2002.
- Ranchold-Nilsson, Sita and Mary Ann Tétreault, eds. *Women, States, and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Ransby, Barbara. "Beverly Heard and Voters Are the Victims, Not Mel Reynolds." *The Progressive Media Project*, 1995: *The Year in Review*, August 15, 1995, n.p.
- . *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Ransby, Barbara and Tracey Matthews. "Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions." In *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, edited by Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 526–35. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Reed, Jr., Adolph. *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon: The Crisis of Purpose in Afro-American Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.
- . "The Allure of Malcolm X and the Changing Character of Black Politics." In *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, edited by Joe Wood, 203–32. New York: Anchor Books-Doubleday, 1992.
- . "Triumph of the Tuskegee Will." *The Village Voice*, October 31, 1995.

- . "Introduction: The New Liberal Orthodoxy on Race and Inequality." In *Without Justice for All: The New Liberalism and Our Retreat from Racial Equality*, edited by Adolph Reed, Jr., 1–8. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.
- . "The Jug and Its Content: A Perspective on Black American Political Development." In *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era*, 1–52. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- . "Black Particularity Reconsidered." In *Is It Nation Time?: Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism*, edited by Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., 39–66. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- . "Reflections on Atlanta University Political Science." *National Political Science Review* 9 (2003): 236–48.
- Reid-Pharr, Robert F. "It's Raining Men: Notes on the Million Man march." *Transition* 69 (1996): 36–49.
- Rein, Martin and Donald A. Schön. "Reframing Policy Discourse." In *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, edited by Frank Fischer and John Forester, 145–66. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Reneau, Ingrid. "Dancing the 'Clearing' in Academia." *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 28, no. 1 (2004): 322–26.
- "Rep. Mel Reynolds Facing Four More Charges." *Congressional Quarterly*, May 6, 1995, 1226.
- Riley, Michael. "I Guess You All Figured that I Couldn't Resist that Lady." *Time*, July 9, 1990.
- Robinson, Dean E. *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Robnett, Belinda. *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Rogin, Michael. *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. "Million Man March," 1995. <http://poll.orspub.com/poll/lpext.dll/ors/m/millionmanmarch/017203-1995.htm?f=templates> (accessed March 30, 2002).
- Roth, Benita. "The Vanguard Center: Intramovement Experience and the Emergence of Black Feminism." In *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*, 76–128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Ruffins, Paul. "Washington's Black Press: Rallying 'Round Mayor Barry." *The Nation*, July 30/August 6, 1990.
- Ryan, Judylyn S. "Contested Visions/Double Vision in *Tar Baby*." *Modern Fiction Studies* 39, nos. 3–4 (1993): 597–621.
- Ryden, David. "Faith-Based Initiatives and the Constitution: Black Churches, Government, and Social Services Delivery." In *New Day Begun: African American Churches and Civic Culture in Post-Civil Rights America*, edited by R. Drew Smith, 248–77. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Sacks, Glenn. "National Fatherhood Initiative Attacks Black Fathers." *His Side* with Glenn Sacks, April 25, 2004. [http://www.hisside.com/4\\_25\\_04.htm](http://www.hisside.com/4_25_04.htm).

- Sacks, Glenn and Reginald Brass. "National Fatherhood Initiative's Ad Campaign Insults African-American Fathers." Glenn Sacks, March 9, 2005. [http://www.glennsacks.com/national\\_fatherhood\\_initiative\\_ads.htm](http://www.glennsacks.com/national_fatherhood_initiative_ads.htm).
- Salaam, Kalamu Ya. "Revolutionary Struggle/Revolutionary Love." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 20–24.
- Schön, Donald A. and Martin Rein. *Frame Reflection: Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Schram, Sanford F. *Words of Welfare: The Poverty of Social Science and the Social Science of Poverty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
- Schram, Sanford F. and Philip T. Neisser, eds. *Tales of the State: Narrative in Contemporary U. S. Politics and Public Policy*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997.
- "SCLC Supports March on D.C. by Farrakhan." *Atlanta Constitution*, September 23, 1995.
- Scott, Darryl. *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880–1996*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Scott, Joan W. "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism." *Feminist Studies*, 14, no. 1 (1988): 33–50.
- . *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia, 1988.
- Segers, Mary. "Introduction: President Bush's Faith-Based Initiative." In *Faith-Based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, edited by Jo Renee Formicola, Mary C. Segers, and Paul Weber, 1–24. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- Shange, Ntozake. *for colored girls who have considered suicide, when the rainbow is enuf*. San Lorenzo, CA: Shameless Hussy Press, 1975.
- Sherman, Scott. "Fighting Words: Adolph Reed's Crusade against the New Black Intellectuals." *Lingua Franca*, March 1997.
- Siegel, Joel. "Rev. Al No Longer Only Black Prez Hopeful." *Daily News (New York)*, February 13, 2003, Sports Final Edition.
- Simien, Evelyn M. *Black Feminist Voices in Politics*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Simmond, Yussuf J. "CBC Examines the Plight of Black Males; The State of the African American Male Conference." *Los Angeles Sentinel*, March 17–23, 2005, sec. A. <http://ezproxy.lib.vt.edu> (Proquest).
- Skrentny, John. *The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Smith, R. Drew. "Introduction: Black Churches within a Changing Civic Culture in America." In *New Day Begun: African American Churches and Civic Culture in Post-Civil Rights America*, edited by R. Drew Smith, 1–12. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Smith, Preston H. "'Self-Help,' Black Conservatives, and the Reemergence of Black Privatism." In *Without Justice for All: The New Liberalism and Our*

- Retreat from Racial Equality*, edited by Adolph Reed, Jr., 257–89. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.
- Smith, Rogers. “Should We Make Political Science More of a Science or More about Politics?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35, no. 2 (2002), 199–201.
- Smooth, Wendy. “Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making.” *Politics & Gender* 2, no. 3 (2006): 400–14.
- Smooth, Wendy and Tamelyn Tucker. “Behind But Not Forgotten: Women and the Behind-the-Scenes Organizing of the Million Man March.” In *Still Lifting, Still Climbing: African American Women’s Contemporary Activism*, edited by Kimberly Springer, 241–58. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation.” *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1986): 464–81.
- Solomon-Fears, Carmen. “Promoting Responsible Fatherhood.” Congressional Research Service, EBWLF37, updated October 4, 2004.
- Somerson, Mark D. “Workshops Study Black Male ‘Crisis.’” *The Columbus Dispatch*, February 23, 1992, sec. B.
- Spelman, Elizabeth V. *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1988.
- Spillers, Hortense J. “The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Post-Date.” *Boundary 2* 21, no. 3 (1994): 65–116.
- Springer, Kimberly, ed. *Still Lifting, Still Climbing: Contemporary African American Women’s Activism*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Staff and Wire Reports. “‘Crisis of Black Male’ seminar at IUSB.” *South Bend Tribune*, February 5, 1998, sec. B.
- Staples, Robert. “The Myth of Black Macho: A Response to Angry Black Feminists.” *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 6, 7 (1979): 24–33.
- . “A Rejoinder: Black Feminism and the Cult of Masculinity: The Danger Within.” *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 63–67.
- Steinberg, Stephen. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.
- Stephens, Dionne and Layli Phillips. “Freaks, Gold Diggers, Divas, and Dykes: The Sociohistorical Development of Adolescent African-American Women’s Sexual Scripts.” *Sexuality and Culture* 7, no. 1 (2003): 3–49.
- Stone, Deborah. *Policy Paradox and Political Reason*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1988.
- Stone, Pauline Terrelonge. “The Limitations of Reformist Feminism.” *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 24–27.
- Strausberg, Chinta. “Jackson Says Reynolds Being Hounded.” *Chicago Defender*, July 31, 1995.
- Swain, Carol. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Tate, Gayle. *Unknown Tongues: Black Women's Political Activism in the Antebellum Era, 1830–1860*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2003.
- Taylor, James Lance. "Black Politics in Transition: From Protest to Politics to Political Neutrality?" Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1999.
- Toure, Askia M. "Black Male/Female Relations: A Political Overview of the 1970s." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 45–48.
- "Transcript of Remarks by President Bush to U.S. Conference of Mayors." U.S. Newswire, Inc., June 25, 2001. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/> (accessed October 17, 2003).
- Trescott, Jacqueline. "Black Feminist Theorist on the Front Line: Michele Wallace Is Fighting for a New Order for Black Women and She's Getting Flak." *The Washington Post*, February 7, 1979, sec. B.
- Umemoto, Karen. "Blacks and Koreans in Los Angeles: The Case of LaTasha Harlins and Soon Ja Du." In *Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism*, edited by James Jennings, 95–117. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994.
- United States Department of Health and Human Services. "HHS' Fatherhood Initiative: Toolkit for Fatherhood." <http://fatherhood.hhs.gov>.
- "United States: Rebuilding the party of Lincoln; To come." *The Economist*, April 23, 2005. <http://proquest.umi.com>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. "We the People: Blacks in the U.S." Census 2000 Special Reports, Issued August 2005.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "Head Start and the Fatherhood Initiative." <http://fatherhood.hhs.gov/Parenting/FINAL.PDF>.
- . "HHS' Fatherhood Initiative: Improving Opportunities for Low-Income Fathers." <http://fatherhood.hhs.gov>.
- . "The National Head Start Institute on Father Involvement." <http://www.acf.hhs.gov>.
- Van Deburg, William. *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Verner, Brenda. "Brenda Verner Examines 'Liberated' Sisters." *Encore*, April 1974.
- . "Her Say: The Power and Glory of Africana Womanism." *Chicago Tribune* June 12, 1994, sec. 6.
- . "Africana Womanism: Why Feminism Has Failed to Lure Black Women." Photocopy, essay on file with the author, n.d.
- Voaden, Rosalynn and Diane Wolfthal, eds. *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005.
- Walker, Alice. *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983.
- . *The Color Purple*. New York: Pocket Books, 1985.
- Wallace, Michele. "Black Women Writers: A False Sense of Security?" *The Women's Review of Books* 1, no. 1 (1983): 7–8.

- . "Variations on Negation and the Heresy of Black Feminist Creativity." In *Reading Black, Reading Feminist: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 52–67. New York: Meridian, 1990.
- . *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. New York: The Dial Press, 1978. Reprint, with new introduction and bibliography. New York: Verso Press, 1994. Page references are to the 1994 edition.
- . "Memoirs of a Premature Bomb-Thrower." *The Village Voice*, February 13, 1996.
- . *Michele Wallace: Dark Designs and Visual Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Wallis, Jim. *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005.
- Walters, Ronald. *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2003.
- Watkins, Mel. "Sexism, Racism and Black Women Writers." *The New York Times*, June 15, 1986, sec. 7.
- Watson, Clifford and Geneva Smitherman. *Educating African American Males: Detroit's Malcolm X Academy Solution*. Chicago: Third World Press, 1996.
- Watson, Jamal E. "CBC Criticizes President's State of the Union Address." *The New York Amsterdam News*. February 16, 2005. <http://www.highbeam.com> (accessed November 10, 2006).
- Weber, Michael J. "Immersed in an Educational Crisis: Alternative Programs for African-American Males." *Stanford Law Review* 45 (1993): 1099–131.
- Weber, Paul. "The Bad in the Faith-Based Initiative." In *Faith-Based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, edited by Jo Renee Formicola, Mary C. Segers, and Paul Weber, 63–114. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.
- Welch, Michael, Eric Price, and Nana Yankey. "Youth Violence and Race in the Media: The Emergence of 'Wilding' as an Invention of the Press." *Race, Gender & Class*, April 30, 2004. <http://proquest.umi.com>.
- West, Lois A., ed., *Feminist Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Whitaker, Charles. "Alice Walker: 'Color Purple' Author Confronts Her Critics and Talks About Her Provocative New Book-Interview." *Ebony*, March 1992.
- White, Deborah Gray. *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985.
- White, E. Frances. "Africa on My Mind: Gender, Counter Discourse and African-American Nationalism." *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 1 (1990): 73–97.
- Whittington, Laura W. "Illinois Black Turnout Key; Senate Outcome May Rest on White House Race." *Roll Call*, February 24, 2003. <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>.



- "Who Is the Victim." *The Economist*, August 12, 1995.
- Willrich, Michael. "Department of Self Services." *The Washington Monthly*, October 1990.
- Williams, Patricia. *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Williams, Sherley A. "Comment on the Curb." *The Black Scholar* 10, nos. 8, 9 (1979): 49–51.
- Willis, Andre C. *Faith of Our Fathers: African-American Men Reflect on Fatherhood*. New York: Dutton, 1996.
- Wilson, Trish. "U.S. Fatherhood Initiatives: Control of Women and Children under the Guise of 'Responsible Married Fatherhood.'" *Feminista!* 4, no. 7 (2001). <http://www.feminista.com/archives/v4n7/wilson.html> (accessed November 12, 2006).
- Winter, Nicholas J.G. "Framing Gender: Political Rhetoric, Gender Schemas, and Public Opinion on U.S. Health Care Reform." *Politics & Gender* 1, no. 3 (2005): 453–80.
- Youson, Patricia. "Responsible Fatherhood: Dads Told to Play Positive Roles in Children's Lives." *Washington Informer*, July 11, 2001. <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb>.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira and Floya Anthias, eds. Jo Campling, consultant ed. *Woman-Nation-State*. Houndmills, England: Macmillan, 1989.
- Zerilli, Linda. *Signifying Woman: Culture and Chaos in Rousseau, Burke, and Mill*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

# *Index*

- Adeleke, Tunde, 1–2,
- Administrative Presidency, *See* Bush, George W.
- African American Agenda 2000, 72–73, 185n97
- African American community, 175n23
  - as archetypal anti-community or community-gone-awry, 21, 66–67
  - and calls for racial group unity, 132
  - and community policing argument, 156–59
  - as constitutive outside for black cultural nationalism, 21, 161
  - as “constitutive outside” for white U.S. nationalism, 21, 88, 161
  - key features of, 111
  - as monolithic, 157, 158, 165, 199n6
  - as perceived as threat to nation, 66–67
  - as privileging priorities of males, 132, 143
  - as represented collectively as position in discourse, 111, 116–17, 144
  - as represented metonymically, 111, 116, 117, 133, 143, 144
  - and residual theory of, 199n11
  - sexual politics of, 112
  - See also* Black Nationalism; Nationalism; Sexuality
- Africana womanism, 131–32
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 66, 81, 83, 124
- Allen, Jr., Ernest, 7
- Anderson, Benedict, 22, 32
- Anthias, Floya, 2, 56
- Asante, Molefi, 48, 54
- Ansell, Amy, 66–67, 174n75, 187n26
- The Atlanta Compromise (Atlanta Exposition Speech of 1896), 23, 80
- Baraka, Amiri, 59
- “Barbershops, Bibles, and BET” (Harris-Lacewell), 49
- Barriteau, Eudine, 14, 186–87n20
- Barry, Marion, 109, 133–37
  - and drug bust sting operation, 134–35
  - and political background, 133, 134
  - and political challenges and scandals, 134
  - and support by nationalist newspapers, 136
- Black Arts movement
  - and claim of Black women deflecting violence against white oppressors, 119–20
  - and claim of Black women’s rejection of the black community, 120–21

- Black Arts movement—*continued*  
 and gender role expectations, 118  
 and gendered themes of noted plays, 119–22
- The Black Church  
 prophetic role of, 163  
 and social services, 91, 94–95  
 and support for BCPP, 163  
 and support for Faith-Based Initiative, 92, 95, 96  
 as target of Bush administration, 90–92  
 and Third Sector, 91, 94–95, 106
- Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm (BCPP), 65, 67, 84–89, 147, 154  
 as action frame for FBI and FI, 79, 89  
 and alternative or competing frames, 25–28, 178n97  
 as backlash against Civil Rights and Black Power movements, x, 3, 25, 154  
 and Black male-female roles and/or relationships, 5, 25  
 and Black women as unfit mothers, 81–82, 123  
 definition of, 3, 8, 170n13  
 as foundation for Million Man March, 5, 6–7, 70–71, 179n117  
 as foundation for Million Woman March, 185n95  
 as foundation for offshoots of the Million Man March, 5  
 as gender ideology, 8  
 as limitation to Black equality, x, 8  
 as limitation to defining and/or fighting racism, 5, 32–33, 66, 154  
 and manhood initiatives in schools and churches, 5, 191n142  
 as a metanarrative or supertext, 8, 37–40, 63, 66, 70, 79, 88, 93, 116, 147, 153–54, 160, 162, 163  
 and movies, 5, 163  
 and music, 5, 163  
 as narrative or story of control and helplessness, 64, 88, 160  
 as narrative or story of decline, 64, 88, 160, 184n76  
 need for Black transnational feminist analyses of, 163  
 and notion of crisis, 184n75  
 and popular culture, 5  
 and priority of male leadership, 143  
 as promoted by mainstream Civil Rights organizations, 32–33  
 as promoted by nationalists, 4, 49, 67  
 as promoted by non-nationalists, 4  
 and racist retrenchment in the U.S., 31–32, 154  
 and redirection of public attention away from racism, 25, 33  
 as rhetorical frame, 79  
 as same theoretical ground for Black and White nationalisms, x, 5, 7, 29, 31, 32, 64, 67  
 and sexist retrenchment in Black communities, 25, 154  
 and “tangle of pathology,” 25, 170n13  
 and why it demands additional scholarly analysis, 4–5  
*See also* Framing
- Black family breakdown or disintegration, 3, 8, 33, 64–65, 69, 78, 97, 103, 185n95
- Black family romance, 140, 197–98n137
- Black Feminism  
 and Black feminist revolution in political science, 159  
 and challenge of bourgeois standards of white feminist and Civil Rights organizations, 33

- and cold reception in Black communities, 73
- and constitutive model of identity, 19–20, 105, 160, 32m
- and different approaches to analyzing race, class, gender, and sexuality, 19–20
- Endangered Black Male discourse as response to, 70, 187n23
- and hostile reactions' disciplining of, 165–68
- and intersectionality, x, 19
- and intersectionality compared to constitutive model of identity, 20
- and necessity for bravery in face of opposition, 167–68
- and need to examine gender politics of Black nationalisms, 74, 183n58
- and origins of, 174n13
- and praxis, ix
- and what political science can offer to gender analysis, 13–14
- Black feminist frame of reference for Black politics, 18–25, 143–44, 148, 149, 153–54, 159
  - See also* Frame of Reference
- Black macho, 51–52
  - and equation of power with sexual conquest, 57–58
  - and Million Man March, 62, 63
  - and narcissistic macho, 59, 61
  - need for gendered, historically specific considerations of, 60–61
  - and obsessive focus on supposed Black male hypersexuality, 57–58
  - and patriarchal macho, 59, 61–62
  - as product of White frame of reference, 57
- Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (Wallace), 126, 127, 155, 167, 168, 200n31
- and its anticipation of arguments of the BCPP, 69–70
- and claim that it would shape the 1980s, 71
- critiques of book viewed from contemporary perspective, 53
- and implications for disciplining of Black feminism criticism, 167–68
- key criticisms of, 51–53, 127–29, 180–81n3, 181n13
- and support for claim of sexism's significance in Black communities, 129–30
- as a visionary book, 53–54, 57
- Black male crisis or Black male endangerment, *see* Endangered Black Male
- Black Malinche, 110, 111, 115, 116, 145
  - See also* Black woman as traitor trope
- Black men
  - claims of character assassination of, 109
  - See also* Endangered Black Male
- Black middle class
  - and anxieties of Black Power advocates, 157–58
  - and increased system maintenance role under Black power, 157, 158
  - as role models, 101, 158
- Black nationalism
  - And Black female body as the boundary of the nation, 144
  - Black feminist analysis of, 2, 56–57
  - and codification of black nationalist legacy, 153
  - as contested space, 170n19, 182n26
  - as counter discourse, 30–31, 55
  - and creation of nonstate, romanticized subject, 77, 79, 186n19

- Black nationalism—*continued*  
 and definition of cultural nationalism, 3–4  
 as derivative discourse of Western nationalism, 8, 55  
 as dominant Black ideology, 170n14  
 and how it stands in for the state, 77  
 and influence on the state, 76–77, 105, 161  
 as inherently gendered, 23, 31  
 Janus paradox of, 31  
 and middle-class ideology of respectability, 21, 56, 77  
 and mutually constitutive relationship to White American nationalism, 105, 169n7  
 nationalist historiography of, 1  
 and patriarchal gender norms about the family, 56  
 as polar opposite of integrationism, 1, 43, 106–07, 164, 170n19  
 political science scholarship on, 1  
 problematic and thematic of, 30–31  
 and projection of pure racial category, 112–13, 125–26, 130  
 and relationship to the state, 2–3, 15, 169n7  
 as response to White nationalism, 54–55  
 and role of gender, race, and the state in Black nationalist theorizing, 15, 110  
 sexual politics as contradiction of its progressive objectives, 31, 54, 182n18  
 various types or dimensions of, 1, 3–4, 46–49  
*See also* African American Community; Nationalism; Sexuality
- Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (Robinson), 43
- Black politics, as sub-field of Political Science  
 and Black studies orientation to the sub-field, 10  
 and development of a Black political science, 10  
 and evasion of Black feminism, 33–35  
 and limitations of and/or to advancing a Black political science, 172–73n44  
 and need to reassess dichotomy between nationalism and integrationism, 106–07, 164
- “Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions” (Ransby and Matthews), 56–57
- Black Power movement, 126  
 ambiguity of, 1  
 backlash against, x  
 and containment of female leadership, 59  
 and discussion of Black male-White female interracial relationships, 58–59  
 and economically deprived as comprising authentic Black community, 157–58  
 as an effort at superficial, narcissistic manhood, 59–60  
 and focus on oppositional rhetoric and police defiance, 59  
 gains of, 25  
 and “man power” of, 167  
 and negotiation of middle-class anxieties, 157–58  
 and notion of monolithic Black community, 157  
 obsessive focus on assumptions about Black male virility, 58  
 and origins of Black Studies, 157

- and symbolic significance of
  - White woman, 59
- Black Studies, 157
  - and notion of monolithic Black community, 199n6
- "Black Visions" (Dawson), 47–48
- Black Woman as traitor trope, 109, 116, 118, 123, 133, 144–45, 162
  - and affirmative action and welfare as sources of misdirected allegiances, 121, 124
- basic assumptions of, 112
- and Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, 143, 144
- and Black male dependency, 124
- and Black male emasculation, 121–22
- and case regarding Mel Reynolds' rape of Beverly Heard, 137–40
- and conflict between feminism and nationalism, 115, 144–45
- and controversy regarding Carol Moseley-Braun's 2004 presidential bid, 141–43
- and direct claims of treason, 128–29
- and disciplining of Black feminist criticism, 165
- and economic opportunities
  - misdirecting allegiances, 121
- and frame shifting, 110, 116, 163
- and indirect claims of treason, 127, 128
- and Jezebel caricature, 115
- and lesbianism, 131
- and Marion Barry drug bust scandal involving Rasheeda Moore, 133–37
- and matriarch or Sapphire caricature, 113–14, 121, 124–25
- and necessity for Black feminist counternarrative, 145
- and outright rejection of the Black community, 120–21
- and post-1965 politics, 145
- and similarity to Latina figure, Malinche, 110, 145
- and slavery, 114, 122
- and targeting of Black elected officials, 135, 139, 140, 145
- and victimization of Heard, 140
- and victimization of Moore, 137
- and womanists, 130–32
- See also* Black Arts movement
- Black Woman: Back Door to Racism* (Karriem), 111, 122–24
- Black women
  - and alternative typology of caricatures or symbolic representations, 193n14
  - and traditional typology of caricatures or symbolic representations, 113
  - as professionals and/or beneficiaries of affirmative action, 122, 123, 124, 125, 194n42
  - See also* Black woman as traitor trope
- Blankenhorn, David, 102
- Brown, Robert, 1, 48, 180n160
- Brown, Ronald, 1
- Brown, Scot, 4, 170n18
- Bush, George, 80
- Bush, George W., 80
  - and administrative presidency, 89
  - cultivation of conservative Christian leadership, 95–96
  - and targeting of FBI toward Blacks, 91–92
  - and undermining of Black elected officials, 95–96
  - and undermining of civil rights leadership, 95–96
- Caldwell, Kirbyjon, 95
- Canon, Katie, 130–31

- Charitable Choice, *See* Faith-Based Initiative
- Chatterjee, Partha, 29–30, 31
- Chavis, Benjamin, 109
- Christian, Barbara, 40, 179
- Civil Rights movement  
backlash against, x  
gains of, 25  
women's leadership in, 183n52
- Clark, Kenneth, 87, 170n13
- Clearing, 170–71n20
- Cleaver, Eldridge, 59, 70
- Clinton, Bill, 80–81
- Cole, Johnnetta B., 145
- Collins, Patricia Hill, 49–50, 73, 77, 169n7, 200n35
- The Color Purple* (Walker), 166
- Combahee River Collective, 19
- Community  
and failure to address gender inequality, 22  
as a fraternal order, 22  
and implicit sexual hierarchy within, 22  
as key component of nationalism, 22  
as relevant to a range of nationalists, 47–48  
*See also* African American community
- Community nationalism, 46–49  
as hidden model of legitimacy, 48
- Compassionate Conservatism  
and devolution of responsibility for social services, 93  
and frame shifting, 88–89  
as part of the BCPP, 84, 88
- Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), 95, 98, 105, 165
- Consensus issues, 35
- Cooper, Anna Julia, 148, 198–99n1
- Conservatism  
and emergence of neoliberal orthodoxy, 81  
as manifestation of White U.S. nationalism, 7
- Constitutive model of identity, *see* Black Feminism
- Crisis, 64, 71, 79  
of the Black male, 15, 67, 68, 80, 140, 163
- Critical Race Theory, 9, 148 *See also* Narrative Analysis, and the Law
- Cross-disciplinarity, *See* Interdisciplinarity
- Culture of Poverty, *see* Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm
- Cummings, Marc A., 109
- Davis, Angela, 72, 113–14
- Davis, Darren, 1
- Dawson, Michael, 1, 47–48, 170n14
- Delaney, Martin, 117, 148
- Democratic National Committee (DNC), 141, 142
- Dilliuo, John, 92
- Discourse of deference, 143
- The Dream and the Nightmare* (Magnet)  
and culture as cause of poverty and underclass, 86–87  
and left/liberal counterrevolution, 86, 88
- DuCille, Anne, 143, 166
- Eberly, Don, 100
- Economic Inequality  
and Black economic indicators, 27  
and Black unemployment and underemployment, 26–27  
and disproportionate Black female poverty rate, 27  
and labor market segmentation, 27  
in the post-Civil Rights era, 27  
as result of racism and sexism, 26
- Educational Inequality  
and re-segregation of minority students, 27–28, 46  
and tracking of minority students, 28  
and vouchers, 46

- Endangered Black Male, 3, 6, 8, 39, 64, 78, 97–98, 105, 140, 160  
 and Black men as special target of racism, 110, 145  
 and conspiracy to destroy Black boys, 67  
 and diversion of attention from plight of Black women, 68–69  
 and Exodus narrative, 68  
 and fear of demographic growth of Blacks, 68  
 and manhood training, 98  
 and middle-class ideology of respectability, 101  
 and misreading of statistical data, 68–69  
 new area of scholarly study on, 191n144  
 as promoted by Farrakhan and Nation of Islam, 68  
 and role-modeling, 98, 101, 103  
 as supported by CBC, 98  
 as supported by traditional Civil Rights leadership, 98  
 as rejoinder to Black women's critique of sexism, 70  
 and targeting of Black male elected officials, 135, 139, 140
- Faith-Based Initiative (FBI), 37–38, 84  
 and appropriation of Civil Rights language, 190n126  
 and Black voter realignment, 96–97  
 and Charitable Choice, 89–90  
 and compassionate conservatism, 93, 160  
 and disaffection of White evangelical, conservatives, 92  
 and expansion of types of organizations competing for aid, 94  
 and failure to expand social services, 94  
 and moral rehabilitation of the poor, 93–94  
 and “Rallying the Armies of Compassion” speech, 93  
 as signature public policy for George W. Bush, 89  
 as social and urban policy, 93  
 and support by Black ministers, 92  
 and traditional religious social services, 89  
 and undermining of Civil Rights movement legacy, 95
- The Faith Factor in Fatherhood* (Eberly), 100
- Family welfare, *see* Welfare
- Farrakhan, Louis, 7, 24, 116, 124–25, 155, 161, 176n43
- Fatherhood Initiative (FI), 5, 37–38, 84  
 And BCPP, 97, 101, 160  
 and child support enforcement, 103  
 and cooptation of Fragile Families by pro-marriage wing, 101  
 and Fragile Families constituents, 100  
 and groups supportive of, 100  
 and limited legislative support, 90, 97–98, 102  
 and implementation through executive branch, 90, 102  
 and indirect assistance through vouchers, 90  
 and lack of opposition from elected official and civil rights organizations, 105  
 and pro-marriage constituents, 100  
 and responsible fatherhood, 103–04  
 and restoration of patriarchal macho, 100, 103–04  
 and role-modeling, 101, 103



- Fatherhood Initiative (FI)—*continued*  
 and separation of church and state, 90  
 as social and urban policy, 90  
 as stealth, urban policy, 97, 104  
 and support by House of Representatives, 101–02  
 and targeting of Black communities, 90–91  
 and team parenting, 101  
*See* Marketplace masculinity; National Fatherhood Initiative
- Fatherless America* (Blankenhorn), 102
- Feminism, contemporary challenges, ix
- Feminist nationalisms, 22–23
- Fernandes, Leela, 20, 112
- Fischer, Frank, 11
- Flake, Floyd, 92
- For colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow was enuf* (Shange), 126
- criticisms of, 127–29  
 and support for claim of sexism's significance in Black communities, 129–30
- Ford Foundation, 100
- Frame alignment processes  
 and amplification, 40, 41, 88  
 and bridging, 40, 41  
 and extension, 40, 41, 88–89  
 as important to social movement organizing, churches, groups, events, and mass protests, 42  
 and kinds of beliefs, 41  
 and transformation, 40, 41  
*See also* Framing
- Frame of reference, 175n21  
 definition of, 17  
 and failure to incorporate feminist insights, 17, 20  
 “A Frame of Reference for Black Politics” (Jones), 17–18  
*See also* Black feminist frame of reference for Black politics
- Frame shifting, 163  
 and Black woman as traitor trope, 110  
 and Compassionate Conservatism, 88–89  
 and elements or flashpoints, 42, 79  
 and macro or narrative level, 42, 79  
 and microlevel of narratives framing social movements and policies, 42, 79
- Framing  
 and BCPP as a metanarrative or supratext, 37–40, 63, 66, 70, 79, 88, 93, 116, 147, 153–54, 160, 162, 163  
 across disciplines, 42  
 and dominant, metaphor based storylines within the BCPP, 37–38  
 as enabling cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary dialogue, 42  
 and frame conflict, 36, 101  
 and intertextuality, 38, 70–71, 79, 93, 160, 178  
 and intratextuality, 38–39, 79, 160  
 and naming and framing of public policy, 36  
 and nature of, 35–36  
 and story of control and helplessness, 37  
 and story of decline, 37  
 and use by various disciplines, 35  
*See also* Frame alignment processes
- “From Black Power to Hip Hop” (Collins), 49–50
- Garcia, John A., 10
- Garvey, Marcus, 7
- Gavanas, Anna, 100, 101
- Gays and Lesbians, *see* Sexuality

- Gender  
 definition of, 19  
 and other cultural contexts, 174n2  
 sex-based differences in public opinion as inadequate measure of, 48  
 as shared theoretical ground for Black and White nationalisms, 3
- Gender power (masculinist): defined, 1
- Ghetto, *see* Underclass
- Globalization, its meaning in the early twenty-first century, ix
- Goldberg, David Theo, 76
- The Golden Age of Black Nationalism* (Moses), 54–55
- Goldsmith, Stephen, 87–88  
 and claims of welfare inefficiency, 87  
 and devolution of social services to individuals and local governments, 87–88  
 And faith-based community organizations, 87–88
- Guy-Sheftall, Beverly, 145
- Hare, Julia, 6, 67, 68
- Hare, Nathan, 6, 67, 68
- Harris, Rose, 20, 159, 199n13, 200n33
- Harris-Lacewell, Melissa, 49
- Hawkesworth, Mary, 17, 34
- Head Start program, 104
- Health and Human Services (HHS), 100, 102–04
- Heard, Beverly, 137–40
- Hegemonic project, 187n26
- Hidden transcripts of complicity, 49, 110
- Hidden transcripts of resistance, 49
- Hill, Anita, 109, 115–16, 132, 133
- Histories, recovering insurgent, ix
- Holland, Janet, 9
- Hooks, bell, 31, 72, 177n74, 183–84n67
- Horn, Wade, 102–03
- Ideology  
 and binary oppositions of integrationism and nationalism as legacy of enlightenment, 164  
 and Black integrationism and nationalism as polar opposites, 1, 43, 106–07, 164, 170n19  
*See also* Black feminism; Black nationalism
- Institute for Responsible Fatherhood and Family Revitalization, 100
- Interdisciplinarity, 8–10, 172n40  
 and challenges to methodological conventions, 13, 159  
 compared to cross-disciplinarity, 10, 172n40  
 conceptual interdisciplinarity, 13, 173n60  
 as facilitated through framing as a conceptual tool, 42  
 and importance to the study of Black politics in political science, 10  
 strategic disciplinarity, 173n60
- Intersectionality, *See* Black feminism
- The Ironies of Black Politics, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 176n44  
 and the BCPP as conservative politics in Blackface, 25–28, 150  
 and the BCPP as product of Black and White Nationalisms, 28–32, 150  
 and the BCPP as symbol of class and gender politics in Black communities, 32–33, 155  
 and the BCPP as symbolic of the continuing denial of Black feminism, 33–35, 155

- Jackson, Jesse, 139–40, 141, 142  
 Jones, Gayl, 166  
 Jones, Mack H., 10  
 Jordan, June, 180–81n3  
 Jordan-Zachery, Julia, 81–82, 106, 159, 199n13
- Karenga, Maulana, 4, 54, 127, 181n13  
 Karriem, Kamal, 111, 112, 116, 122–24  
 Kellman, Oliver N.E., Jr., 96  
 Kunjufu, Jawanza, 6, 67, 68
- Lattuca, Lisa, 13  
 Legette, Willie, 68–69, 99, 187n23  
 Lubiano, Wahneema, 65, 77, 157–58, 182n26, 184n76, 194n42
- Magnet, Myron, 86–87  
 Male Marginalization Thesis, 186–87n20  
     *See also* Endangered Black Male  
 Malinche, *See* Black malinche; Black woman as traitor trope  
 Malveaux, Julianne, 73, 165, 181n13, 195n59  
 Mammy (aunt Jemimah), 113  
 Marketplace masculinity, 100–01  
 Masculinity  
     and marketplace version of, 100–01  
     and woundedness, 3, 105, 143, 187n22  
 Matthews, Tracye, 56–57  
 Matriarch (Sapphire), 113  
 McClain, Paula D., 10  
 McClendon, Clarence, 96  
 McClintock, Anne, 2, 19–20, 55  
 Metanarrative, *See* Narrative analysis  
 Metaphor, *See* Narrative Analysis  
 Middle-class  
     politics of respectability, 2, 106
- Million Man March, 1, 33, 46, 155, 176n43, 185n102  
     and accomodationist politics, 161  
     attacks on opponents of, 73  
     as compared to Million Woman March, 185n95  
     cross-racial support for, 62  
     as Day of Atonement and Reconciliation, 63  
     and feminist opposition to, 72–73  
     and jumpstarting of men's movement in Black churches, 99  
     and lack of support for messenger, Louis Farrakhan, 62–63  
     as outgrowth of the Black Cultural Pathology Paradigm, 5, 6–7, 70–71, 179n117  
     and patriarchy as solution for Blacks' problems, 63  
     and restoration of Black patriarchal manhood, 7, 70–71  
     and self-help ideology, 63, 80  
     and support by Clinton-Gore administration, 99–100  
     support for message of, 7, 62–63  
     and survey data showing link to gender politics of BCPP, 73–74, 186n107  
     and ten-year anniversary or Millions More Movement, 164, 165
- Millions More Movement  
     and affirmation of self-help politics, 165  
     and connection to and support for Million Man March, 164–65  
     and frame alignment through extension and amplification, 164, 165  
     and support for, 164, 165
- Million Woman March, 33, 72, 185n95
- Mohanty, Chandra, 183n58

- Monroe, Irene, 7  
 Moore, Rasheeda, 135, 136, 137  
 Morrison, Toni, 40  
 Moseley-Braun, Carol, 141–43  
 Moses, Wilson, 54–55  
 Moynihan, Patrick, 69–70, 170n13, 183n66  
 Moynihan Report, 25, 65, 69–70, 78  
  
 Narrative analysis, 3  
     definition of, 10  
     and the law, 9  
     and metaphors, 8  
     and the question of relativism, 40  
     and rhetorical strategies, 9, 149  
     and taken for granted “facts,” 8, 12  
     *See also* Framing  
 Narratives (stories), 8, 12,  
     and mediation of experience of everyday life, 12  
     and metanarrative, 8, 122, 162  
     and supertext, 8, 40, 160, 178  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 71, 95, 98, 106, 109, 135, 190n136  
 National Center for Fathering, 100  
 National Center for Strategic Non-Profit Planning and Community Leadership, 100  
 National Fatherhood Initiative (NFI), 100, 102  
 Nationalism  
     and anti-colonial nationalism, 30  
     common articulations of gender inn, 56  
     counter-hegemonic forms of, 2, 31  
     and cult of wounded masculinity, 78–79  
     as imagined communities, 22, 32  
     as inherently gendered, 22, 55–56  
     feminist analysis of, 2, 55–61  
     hegemonic forms of, 2, 31  
     primordial forms of, 23  
     problematic and thematic of, 29–30  
     and women’s participation in nationalist politics, 23  
 Nation of Islam, 6–7, 29, 155  
     and classification as nationalist, 153  
     and Original Man doctrine, 7  
     origins of, 6–7  
     and relationship between theology and politics, 152  
 Neal, Larry, 118–23  
 Neisser, Philip, 12  
*The New White Nationalism in America* (Swain), 43–45  
  
 Olasky, Marvin, 84–86  
 Omi, Michael, 75–76  
  
 Partners for Fragile Families, 100  
 Patriarchy  
     and benevolent model of, 177n74, 183–84n67  
     and definition of Black male-female relations and identities, 26  
     dominator model of, 31, 177n74, 183–84n67  
     as a solution for Black social ills, 2  
 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) or Welfare Reform, 4, 37–38, 45–46, 78, 93, 97, 161  
     and BCPP, 81  
     and launching of fatherhood movement, 100  
     and negative consequences for the poor, 82–83  
     and politics of disgust, 82  
     and rehabilitation of moral dysfunction, 81  
     and Welfare Queens, 81–82

- Persons, Georgia, 90, 93
- Plausible deflectability, 152
- Plight of the Black male, *see*  
Endangered Black Male
- Politics  
  academia as site of, 148, 149
- Political narratives, *see* Narrative  
  Analysis
- Political science  
  and Black feminist revolution, 159  
  and Black women's studies, 11  
  and marginalization of the study  
    of race, 10  
  and postpostivist, post-empiricist  
    approaches, 11  
  and scientific inquiry and human  
    interests, 13: *See also* Black  
    politics; Public opinion;  
    Racial consciousness or unity;  
    Voting behavior
- Postcolonial condition, failure to  
  meet societies' needs, ix
- Power, definition of, 77–78
- Power theory of racial conflict, 18
- Public opinion, 34–35, 48  
  *See also* Gender
- Public policy  
  and action frames, 39–40, 79  
  and global shift, 38  
  and nested context, 38, 40, 93,  
    163  
  and policy racism, 45  
  and rhetorical frames, 39  
  and stealth urban policy, 93, 97
- Racial consciousness or unity,  
  34–35, 112
- Racial Formation in the United  
  States* (Omi and Winant),  
  75–76
- Ramazanoglu, Caroline, 9
- Ransby, Barbara, 56–57, 140
- Ranchod-Nilsson, Sita, 23
- Reagan administration, 7, 122  
  and hostility toward Blacks, 6  
  and hostility toward females  
    heading single-parent  
    households, 65  
  and Welfare Queens, 6, 80
- Reconstruction, 45, 135, 176n42
- Reed, Adolph, Jr., 96, 157, 158,  
  181n16, 193n12
- “Reflections on the Black Woman's  
  Role in the Community of  
  Slaves” (Davis), 113–14
- Rein, Martin, 36, 38–39, 43
- Reneau, Ingrid, clearing, 170–71n20
- Reynolds, Mel, 133, 137  
  and criminal charges against, 139  
  and perjury on the witness stand,  
    138  
  and solicitation of false  
    recantation from Heard, 139  
  and supposed targeting of Black  
    elected officials, 139, 140
- Rhetorical strategies, 149, 150  
  and Community Policing  
    argument, 149, 155, 156–59  
  and Deny and Deflect argument,  
    149, 150, 152–155  
  and Feminism as Foreign Ideology  
    (the Frontal Attack)  
    argument, 149, 155–56, 158  
  and Shock and Awe argument,  
    149, 150–52  
  *See also* Black woman as traitor  
    trope; Narrative analysis
- Rivers, Eugene, 47, 48, 49, 92
- Robinson, Dean, 2, 4, 43, 55, 153,  
  169n7
- Rove, Karl, 84
- Ryan, Judylyn, 38, 178n107
- Schram, Sanford, 12
- Schon, Donald A., 36, 38–39, 43
- Self-help politics  
  as an accomodationist politics, 24  
  and ban on gay marriage, 96  
  and Black moral uplift as antidote  
    to racism, 24

- and Booker T. Washington, 23–24
- and FBI, 94–95
- and interdependence of politics, society, and economics, 24, 176n41
- and Millions More Movement, 165
- undemocratic nature of, 24, 175–76n41
- Sexuality, 30, 31
  - and Black female hypersexuality, 105, 115
  - and focus on Beverly Heard's lesbianism as opposed to her victimization, 140
  - and gays and lesbians as constitutive outside in Black nationalism, 21
  - and (hetero) sexist gender ideology, x
  - and lesbianism seen as rejection of Black male body, 120, 121
  - and lesbians as traitors, 131
- Shange, Ntozake, 126, 166–67
- Sharpton, Al, 141–43
- Shaw, Todd, 1, 48, 180n160
- Smith, Robert, 106
- Smith, Rogers, 13
- Snow, David, A., 40–42
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 62–63, 165
- Spillers, Hortense, 111
- Staples, Robert, 52, 127, 181n4
- State, 14, 15
  - Black feminist perspectives on, 76–77
  - definition of, 2, 75, 77
  - and question of influence of Black nationalism, 77
  - and the racial state, 75–76
  - and the role of race and nationalism in state formation, 21–22
  - and state projects, 76
  - and theory of racial formation, 76
- See also* Black nationalism
- Stories, *See* Narrative analysis
- Superwoman, 52
  - and Moynihan Report, 69–70
  - and Wallace's critique of statistical data, 70
- Swain, Carol, 43–45
- Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, 81, 83
- Third Sector, 91, 94–95, 106
- Thomas, Clarence, 109, 115, 133
- Thompson, Tommy, 102–03
- Tragedy of Compassion* (Olasky), 84–86
  - and America's return to wilderness, 85–86
  - and Early American model of compassion, 85
  - and impact on Welfare Reform, 84–84
  - and slothful deserving economic punishment, 85
  - and supposed negative effects of entitlements, 85
- Transnationalism
  - need for transnational dialogue, x
- Tyson, Mike, 109
- Underclass, 12, 33, 66–67, 86
  - alternative Black feminist reading of, 25–28
  - as antithesis of middle-class ideology of respectability, 21
  - and culture of poverty thesis, 87
  - and focus on individual behavior v. larger social structures, 26
  - as result of structural racial and gender inequality in the U.S., 25–28
  - as source of authentic Black culture, 5
- United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 7

- Urban League, 71, 98, 105, 106,  
165, 190n136, 192n168
- US, 4, 170n18
- Verner, Brenda, 131–32
- Voaden, Rosalynn, 35–36
- Voting Behavior, 34–35
- Walker, Alice, 126, 130, 166,  
167–68, 195–96n79
- Wallace, Michele, xi, 168  
and her reactions to criticism of  
*Black Macho*, 167, 200n33,  
200n35  
and how her analysis could  
benefit Black politics, 71–72,  
74
- Walters, Ronald, 45–46
- Washington, Booker T, 23, 24, 161,  
176n43
- Washington, James E., 96
- Watts, J.C., 92
- Welfare, 123  
demonization of Black women on,  
5, 6, 139  
and family welfare, 116,  
171n31  
popular assumptions about Black  
female recipients of, 8  
as putative cause of Black female  
dependency, 117, 122
- Welfare Reform, *See*, Personal  
Responsibility and Work  
Opportunity Reconciliation Act
- Welfare Queen (Black), 8, 39,  
64–65, 78, 160, 184n76
- West, Lois A., 23
- White, E. Frances, 2, 31, 55, 56, 77,  
182n18
- White Nationalism, 21–22  
and continuum of White  
nationalist thought, 44  
and convergence of liberal and  
conservative political  
interests, 46  
and first and second  
Reconstructions, 45  
as inherently gendered, 23  
manifestations of, 55  
and new White racialists, 43–44  
as studied by political scientists,  
43–46
- Whore (Jezebel), 113
- Wilding, 86, 188n62
- Williams, Patricia, 9
- Winant, Howard, 75–76
- Wolfthal, Diane, 35–36
- Womanism,  
and characterization of Katie  
Canon as traitor, 130–31  
as defined by Alice Walker, 130,  
195–96n79  
*See also*, Africana womanism
- Women's Studies  
as challenge to disciplinary  
boundaries, 8–9  
as a multidisciplinary and  
interdisciplinary enterprise, 8
- Wounded Masculinity, 3, 105, 143,  
187n22
- X, Malcolm, 7
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, 2, 56